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The Journal of Southern History

CONTENTS

<i>What the South Has Done About Its History.</i> By E. Merton Coulter	3
<i>Duff Green: Industrial Promoter.</i> By Fletcher M. Green	29
<i>Property Rights In the Provincial System of Maryland: Proprietary Policy.</i> By Charles A. Barker	43
<i>The First Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association.</i> By Wil- liam C. Binkley	69
<i>Constitution and By-Laws of the Southern Historical Association</i>	76
<i>Documents</i>	
Behind the Scenes in the Reconstruction Legislature of South Carolina: Diary of Josephus Woodruff. Edited by R. H. Woody	78
<i>Book Reviews</i>	
Easterby, <i>A History of the College of Charleston</i> , by James W. Patton	103
Townsend, <i>South Carolina Baptists, 1670-1805</i> , by Edgar Legaré Pennington . .	104
Swem, <i>Virginia Historical Index</i> , by Dice R. Anderson	106
Andrews, <i>The Colonial Period of American History. The Settlements, I</i> , by Edwin Adams Davis	107
Lester, <i>The Transylvania Colony</i> , by R. S. Cotterill	109
Wesley, <i>Richard Allen: Apostle of Freedom</i> , by Walter B. Posey	111
Whitaker, <i>The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803: A Study in Trade, Politics,</i> <i>and Diplomacy</i> , by Walter Prichard	112
Ehrenberg, <i>With Milam and Fannin: Adventures of a German Boy in Texas'</i> <i>Revolution</i> , by R. L. Biesele	113
Barrington, <i>Back from Goliad</i> , by R. L. Biesele	114
Greer, <i>Grand Prairie</i> , by William R. Hogan	115
Dorman, <i>Party Politics in Alabama from 1850 through 1860</i> , by Ruth A. Ketring	117
Basler, <i>The Lincoln Legend: A Study in Changing Conceptions</i> , by J. G. Randall	118
Blake, <i>William Mahone of Virginia: Soldier and Political Insurgent</i> , by Ruth A. Ketring	120
Wilkerson, <i>Thomas Duckett Boyd: The Story of a Southern Educator</i> , by Pierce Cline	112
Cauley, <i>Agrarianism: A Program for Farmers</i> , by H. C. Nixon	122
<i>Historical News and Notices</i>	124
Personal	124
Historical Societies	125
Centennial Celebrations	127
Bibliographical	127
<i>Contributors</i>	131

What the South Has Done About Its History¹

By E. MERTON COULTER

The South has often been referred to as a virgin field for the historian. Other sections of the country have written almost the minutest details of their history or suffered others to do it, even to magnifying the Boston Tea Party and Paul Revere's Ride into an importance which has permeated the national consciousness, while the South has permitted its history to lie unworked and many of its major figures and movements to remain to this day "unhonored and unsung."

There are certain factors which enter into the growth of a new nation and a civilization, which operate rather uniformly, and which must apply, therefore, somewhat equally to the South, the East, the North, and the West—or to whatever sections we may choose to include in our sum total. It is a truism that a country without a history cannot write it, and, of course, the younger a country is, the less there is to write about or to be interested in. The writing of a nation's history is reminiscing for that nation, and it is a well-known fact that only old and oldish people do much reminiscing. As *De Bow's Review* said in 1853, "It is not in the buoyancy of youth that men or nations look back on the past."²

Yet the North, and New England especially, early began to look back on their short past and they soon discovered that it was heroic and that

¹This paper was read as the presidential address before the Southern Historical Association in Birmingham, Alabama, October 25, 1935.

²*De Bow's Review* (New Orleans), XV (1853), 163.

there were giants in those days. They set to work writing about them. Realizing that in union there is strength, individuals early joining forces, organized historical societies, which first being state-wide, multiplied until scarcely a town in New England did not boast of such an organization. Histories accumulated until there was scarcely anything left to be written about. It is not necessary here to inquire into the reasons for these activities, hasty though entirely laudable. It is sufficient to say that the compact settlements made it possible, that the character of the people led them early to begin looking backward (as well as forward), and that their occupations developed a store of community spirit and a wealth of money.

In comparison with New England and the North, the South early fell behind in its historical consciousness, not because it was less old or had a less interesting or important past, but for reasons that will soon appear, some of which, apart from the comparison, operated everywhere to retard historical activity. Though racially the North and the South cannot be so simply described as Puritan and Cavalier, there were nevertheless important differences in the people who settled the two sections. A great many Southerners were Scotch-Irish or of Scotch-Irish descent, and it may not be held to the discredit of other strains to say that the Scotch-Irish exercised an influence in the South out of proportion to their numbers. These people and many other Southerners were individualistic and greatly lacking in self-consciousness. They had little of that introspection which characterized the New Englander and made him busy himself not only with his own affairs but also with the affairs of others. The Southerner was not community-minded, for he did not as a rule live in communities.

This fact suggests that the South developed a rural population and a civilization based almost entirely on agriculture. The people busied themselves in clearing the land and tilling the soil, largely isolated one from another. They thought in terms of their own problems and had little inclination to get interested in or to seek to examine what had gone before. There long remained in the South many elements of the frontier, and no frontier can become much interested in its history,

however long or short it may be. Only with that conservatism that comes with the long occupation of a region and the long association of people in communities, does the historical spirit assert itself.

Also a certain amount of leisure is requisite, and an attitude of mind untroubled and serene helps. The South has had little of either, despite a great deal of romancing to the contrary. Not until 1840 was the South rid of its Indian problems; the slavery issue was not settled until 1865; and then there followed the race question which is yet a matter of some concern. Much of the writing proclivities of Southerners in ante-bellum times was absorbed in a defense of slavery against Northern attacks. Without this disturbance it is conceivable that Calhoun might have written learnedly on the philosophy of history and Simms might have become a Southern Bancroft.

The restlessness that was bred by these conditions made the people prefer action to contemplation. Their genius sought expression, therefore, more in the excitement of politics. The embryo historians and history readers became politicians and statesmen. As a Southerner diagnosed the situation in 1853, "When the offices of the federal and state governments were filled, few men of distinguished abilities were left unemployed." Days of action and fame loomed up ahead. "Who would sit down in his quiet study, and endeavor with toil and pain to extract truth out of a mass of contradictory authorities, when the same energies directed in another channel might make him the ruler of a continent, the arbiter of the world?"³ The apathy of Virginians toward their history was partly explained by a writer in 1847, who said, "We have seen it summarily accounted for by the fact, that the gentlemen and higher classes of Virginia are so much occupied with the duties of self-government and of governing others, that they have no time to spend over the records of past ages—that they who are acting history themselves, care not to read the histories of other men."⁴

But those who did attempt to write the South's history were imme-

³ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁴ *The Southern and Western Literary Messenger and Review* (Richmond), XIII (1847),

2. Cited hereafter as *Southern Literary Messenger*.

diately confronted with a situation which could be counted on to wither the keenest zeal.⁵ The records of the past were scattered and many of them had been destroyed. A people not much interested in their past will take few pains to preserve their current records and even fewer to save old documents. Why should those with little self-consciousness, who want no heroes to worship and who think objectively care to save the musty records of the past out of which unwanted heroes could be made? Not looking for heroes in the past, they were not even interested in making heroes out of themselves; therefore, there was no passion to preserve family archives. The progression of plantations westward led families to discard their old papers as the least desirable impedimenta. And what was even worse, this unconcern for the past led to a woeful carelessness in public officials in preserving the records of the government. After the current value of documents had passed, they were discarded to an attic or basement, there to rest undisturbed until accumulating in such quantities they became a nuisance. This problem was then solved either piecemeal by some janitor using them as a store of fuel for kindling fires, or all at once, like Tennessee, which cut the Gordian knot as late as the twentieth century by selling them as waste paper.⁶

Aiding this carelessness of private individuals and of governmental officials were forces which could not easily be controlled. Wars, fires, and migrating state capitols wrought sad havoc with the South's records. The South has suffered two wars of invasion, which scattered and destroyed state archives. In the Revolution, Georgia was able to carry part of her records to a place of safety, but so far away that she was unable to recover them for some years afterwards; and in the Civil War she saw many of her records pillaged and carried away by Sherman's soldiery, and even to this day their conscience-stricken descendants are

⁵ In writing his history of Alabama in the 1840's, Albert J. Pickett almost gave up in despair as he was unable to find the documents necessary for his story; and William Bacon Stevens was forced greatly to delay his work on the history of Georgia while he sought for historical material.

⁶ P. M. Hamer, "The Preservation of Tennessee History," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (1929), 127.

returning the plunder. But it has been from fires more than from wars that the South has suffered. The flames that destroyed the capitols of Texas and Louisiana deprived succeeding generations of many priceless records and consigned to darkness much that was important. Pathetic is the story of county and parish archives, the records that come nearest the lives of the people. Chronically suffering from the carelessness of local officials, they have gone up in smoke from one end of the South to the other. North Carolina has had no fewer than thirty-three courthouse fires.⁷ For many years the moving population of the South carried state capitols not far behind. The instability of all material things long characterized the South. There is not a state in the South today which has not changed the site of its first capitol. Georgia has had no fewer than five separate state capitols, migrating from Savannah, on the coast, to Atlanta, on the edge of the mountains. It is not difficult to imagine what happened to the state archives when capitols were moved.

This recounting of the South's historical apathy and woes, happily is not the whole story. With all these handicaps, there has been appreciation and progress, and flashes of an historical outlook equal to the best. The South has written histories, collected documents, organized historical societies, and published historical articles and magazines. The South of colonial days had few incentives to be interested in its history; it had no nationalism or even a spirit of nationalism, and it had only a short past, which had no special appeal. Yet Virginia could have a feeling of some age and a desire to look back upon it, for she had lived longer as a colony of England than she has as a part of the American Union; and this historical spirit was felt by Robert Beverly in 1722 and William Stith in 1747, when each brought out his history of Virginia. No other Southern colony had a history sufficiently heroic to lead to its being written.

The Revolution came, American nationalism was born and established, the age of heroes arrived, and the first widespread impulse in the South to write its history began. But it was to be state history, for

⁷ J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "The Preservation of North Carolina History," *ibid.*, IV (1927), 4, 5.

though the South might early have had a sectional feeling of unity, it was not strong enough to break over state lines in the concept of its history until after the Civil War. In every Southern state, the generation following the Revolution saw its history written, and though these histories naturally included colonial times, the Revolution was the heart and the impulse. These histories were written because there were, of course, heroes to be honored, but also because justice must be done to the state in the part it played in the struggle; and those states that had been arrogating too much to themselves must be corrected. In 1804-1805 John Burk published his *History of Virginia, from its First Settlement to the Present Day*, in three volumes; in 1812 Hugh Williamson published his *History of North Carolina*, in two volumes; in 1809 David Ramsay published in two volumes his *History of South Carolina, from its First Settlement in 1670, to the Year 1808*. In Georgia, scarcely had the Revolution ended before Edward Langworthy was busily planning his "Political History of the State of Georgia. From its First Settlement. With Memoirs of the Principal Transactions which Happened therein during the late Revolution." He wrote because "He could no longer silently observe several respectable writers, either through misinformation or ignorance, injuring the reputation of his Country—a country though not generally known yet of no small importance in the American Revolution."⁸ Unfortunately this work was never completed and the valuable collection of historical material assembled by Langworthy disappeared; but Hugh M'Call in 1811 and 1816 published in two volumes *The History of Georgia, Containing Sketches of the most Remarkable Events up to the Present Day*.

Most of these men wrote their histories under great difficulties, and when their work was finished they felt that they received no rewards in an appreciative public. For some years there was none so bold as to make further attempts. The next histories to appear were for the newer states, which had not yet been honored with a written history. In 1823

⁸ L. L. Mackall, "Edward Langworthy and the First Attempt to Write a Separate History of Georgia, with Selections from the Long Lost Langworthy Papers," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VII (1923), 1-17.

John Haywood's *Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee* appeared, and the next year Kentuckians were presented their history in two volumes by Humphrey Marshall,⁹ to be followed ten years later by the work of Mann Butler.¹⁰ The French-born François Xavier Martin, impartial in his interests, wrote in 1827 the first pretentious history of Louisiana¹¹ and two years later wrote another history of North Carolina.¹² Maryland waited until 1837 for her first formal history, written by L. L. Bozman.¹³

For the two decades preceding the Civil War, there was considerable activity in state history writing. William H. Foote, born in Connecticut, wrote his *Sketches of North Carolina* in 1846 and in 1850 his *Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical*. In the 1850's two more histories of North Carolina appeared, one by Francis L. Hawks and the other by John H. Wheeler.¹⁴ The novelist, poet, and historian, William Gilmore Simms, presented his state in 1840 with a new *History of South Carolina*. Aided by the state government, Joseph V. Bevan in the 1820's set about collecting historical material for a history of Georgia, but he died without producing tangible results; and in the early 1830's Alexander Jones sought to succeed where Bevan had failed, but nothing came of it.¹⁵ It remained for William Bacon Stevens to bring out the next history of Georgia, which appeared in two volumes in 1847 and 1859.¹⁶ The other ante-bellum Georgia historian was George White, an Episcopal rector, who brought out in 1849 his *Statistics of the State of Georgia* and in 1854 his *Historical Collections of the State of Georgia*. Albert J. Pickett was Alabama's most famous historian of early times, and it was he who in 1851 brought out the first

⁹ *History of Kentucky*.

¹⁰ *History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*.

¹¹ *History of Louisiana*, 2 vols.

¹² *History of North Carolina, from the Earliest Period*, 2 vols.

¹³ *History of Maryland*, 2 vols.

¹⁴ Respectively, *History of North Carolina*, 2 vols., and *Historical Sketches of North Carolina, from 1584 to 1851*, 2 vols.

¹⁵ T. H. Jack, "The Preservation of Georgia History," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, IV (1927), 241.

¹⁶ *A History of Georgia from its First Discovery by Europeans to the Adoption of the Constitution in MDCCXCVIII*.

history of the state.¹⁷ The first native historian of Louisiana and the most famous was Charles Gayarré, who brought out in 1846, in two volumes, his *Histoire de la Louisiane*. Texas, late in the field as an American state, found two historians in the 1840's in Henry S. Foote and H. Yoakum.¹⁸ Following Tennessee's historian Haywood was J. G. M. Ramsey, who in 1853 brought out his *Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century*. Lewis Collins produced his *Historical Sketches of Kentucky* in 1848. In Florida, Mississippi, and Arkansas no historians arose to favor those states with their histories. Not all of these historical works on the ante-bellum South were produced by native Southerners, though most of them were residents of the states whereof they wrote. Most of the historical writing in the ante-bellum South was in the form of state histories; there were few biographies and no sectional histories. Indeed, up to this moment there has been published no complete history of the South as a region. None of these histories was received with the enthusiasm desired or expected by their authors; and there may be partly an explanation for the historical apathy in the South in the reason given by a Southerner in 1847, that is, the absence "of any well-written narrative of any readable book."¹⁹

These writings were not unaccompanied and unaided by other historical activities. The "Miraculous Thirties" saw the beginning of the state historical societies in the South. Starting with the organization of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791 the movement spread throughout a half-dozen Northern states before the first society grew up in the South. The honor of being first goes to Virginia, which set up in 1831 the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society; in 1847 it was reorganized and given its present name. In 1833 the North Carolina Historical Society was organized and was reorganized in 1844 as the Historical Society of the University of North Carolina and again remade in 1875. The Louisiana Historical Society began in 1836; two

¹⁷ *History of Alabama, and Incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi*, 2 vols.

¹⁸ Their works are respectively, *Texas and the Texans: or, Advance of the Anglo-Americans to the Southwest*, 2 vols., and *History of Texas, from its First Settlement in 1685, to its Annexation to the United States in 1846*, 2 vols.

¹⁹ *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIII (1847), 2.

years later the Kentucky State Historical Society was incorporated, and the next year the Georgia Historical Society was founded.

Thus, the 1830's saw the organization of five historical societies in the South. Five more were set up during the next two decades: the Tennessee Historical Society in 1849, which was the successor to the Tennessee Antiquarian Society founded in 1819; the Alabama Historical Society in 1850; the South Carolina Historical Society in 1855; the Historical Society of Florida in 1856; and the Historical Society of Mississippi in 1858. The other Southern states were to wait until after the Civil War to begin organized historical activities. With a slight variation, the age and strength of these societies were closely related to the age of the state.

Immediately the question arises: Why were these societies formed and what purpose did they serve? A definite and direct cause for the organization of some of them may be seen in the reason for the writing of the first state histories: The states should conserve and defend their reputation in the Revolution. It also should be noted that the states were beginning to feel oldish and they would take some pride in their past. But more directly there appeared to be an important and immediate work to be done in order more effectively to secure the general purpose. These societies would collect and preserve the historical records of the state and they would even send agents to European archives for copies of relevant documents not in America, they would publish documentary collections, and through this work and by other means they would encourage the writing of histories.

Despite the apathy and carelessness of the South in general in preserving its records, there were in ante-bellum times those farseers who had all the zeal of a present-day collector for conserving documents. A historically-minded Southerner in 1843 bemoaned the waste and loss of historical material and observed that if earlier efforts had been made, "how much, that is now irrevocably lost, would have been preserved to enrich and augment" his country's annals.²⁰

²⁰ *Southern Quarterly Review* (Charleston), III (1843), 42.

There were notable examples of individuals who made historical collections, such as I. K. Tefft, A. A. Smets, and George Wymberley Jones De Renne and his son Wymberley Jones De Renne, in Georgia; but it was felt that the most successful and most desirable work of this sort should be carried on by historical organizations. So, it became the first interest of these historical societies to gather up the scattered records of the state. How inclusive were their wants and how thoroughly they understood the records on which history should be based are illustrated by this call sent out by the Georgia Historical Society at its organization in 1839: legislative journals; proceedings of conventions, committees, and councils, statutes of the colony and the state; Indian treaties; medical journals, statistics of births, deaths, and records relating to the blind, the deaf, and the dumb; accounts of epidemics; catalogues of medical colleges and of other schools; histories of towns and counties; maps, surveys, and charts; meteorological observations; reports of geological and mineralogical surveys; records of the Indians, their manners, customs, battles, traditions, and their place names; sketches of all the eminent people who have lived in the state, and genealogical records; educational records and minutes of scientific and literary associations, sermons, tracts, essays, pamphlets, poems, magazines, almanacs, and newspapers from the earliest times; military records of every nature; every sort of religious record, such as proceedings of conventions, assemblies, synods, conferences, and the histories of individual churches. The appeal was closed with the following reminder: The committee

solicit contributions of books, manuscripts, pamphlets, newspapers, and everything which can elucidate the history of America generally, as well as Georgia in particular; and they sincerely hope that this call upon the liberality of all who love the honor of our commonwealth, and desire to perpetuate the faithful records of her existence, will be responded to, with an ardor that will ensure the complete success of the GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.²¹

The service rendered by these societies in the collection and preservation of historical documents has been outstanding, and this work alone has amply justified their existence. In their zeal to secure every-

²¹ *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah), I (1840), 303-305.

thing that might illustrate state history, they sent their agents to England, France, and Spain to secure copies of documents in the archives of those nations. The most notable example of promoting this sort of work in ante-bellum times is to be seen in the case of the Louisiana Historical Society. The Georgia Historical Society became the custodian of the copies of many records which the state government had secured in England.

Though these societies felt that their first duty was to collect historical material, they also believed they should publish selections from it. The state of historical fermentation in ante-bellum times did not suggest or make possible the publication of a review or a magazine, after the modern-day methods. The desirability of publishing something was evident to all these societies, but as some were weak and none was very strong, only three published before the Civil War material of any consequence. Virginia was the most prolific. She published in 1833 a volume of *Collections*; from 1848 to 1853 six volumes of the *Register*; and from 1854 to 1860 two volumes of the *Reporter*. Georgia published three volumes of her *Collections*, beginning in 1840; and South Carolina brought out three volumes of *Collections* from 1857 to 1859. By making available their libraries to the historical investigator, these societies promoted the writing of better histories. The Georgia Historical Society soon after its organization, realizing the inadequacy of M'Call's history of the state, requested one of its members, William Bacon Stevens, to prepare a new and complete history. In its rich stores of material Stevens worked and largely as a result of the Society's patronage he produced a history which is considered a classic on the period covered.

In ante-bellum times these historical societies had no connection with the state governments, which were too much busied with political affairs to care much about promoting such impractical undertakings as historical societies advocated. Most of the states did not have the vision to preserve properly even their own official records; but there are some instances where the value of historical undertakings was recognized. South Carolina seems to have been more liberal than any of the other

Southern states. From the earliest times the Carolina government had taken care to preserve its official documents, and it gave at various times specific monetary aid to certain historical publications. It appropriated two thousand dollars to aid B. R. Carroll in bringing out his *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, and it also afforded financial aid to R. W. Gibbes for his *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, and to the South Carolina Historical Society for its *Collections*.²²

Though there were no strictly historical magazines in ante-bellum times, there were, nevertheless, literary periodicals which gave much attention to history and to the cultivation of the "historical spirit." Some were of only local importance, but there were others which circulated throughout the South, and in this fact is to be discerned a development which would lift history out of its state pockets and give it a wider significance. The *Orion*, published in Penfield, Georgia, gave considerable attention to history, and various other local publications did likewise, but the influence and importance of such journals as *De Bow's Review*, the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the *Southern Quarterly Review*, and the *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review* were widespread. Here was an outlet not only for regular historical narrators, but also for those who would philosophize about history. There was not a total lack of interest and thought in the South in the interpretations of history that were being pronounced by European historical philosophers, and in the writings of historians everywhere. In 1843 a contributor to the *Southern Quarterly Review*²³ noted at length Frederick von Schlegel's *Philosophy of History; in a Course of Lectures*, the occasion being the publication of a translation in 1841. C. S. S. Farrar, of Louisiana, in 1848, taking as his starting point Victor Cousin's *Introduction to the History of Philosophy*, discussed through a half dozen numbers of *De Bow's Review*²⁴ the question whether history was a science. Farrar found it difficult to agree with Cousin that

²² A. S. Salley, Jr., "Preservation of South Carolina History," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, IV (1927), 148 ff.

²³ Vol. III (1843), 263 ff.

²⁴ Vol. V (1848).

history was a positive science instead of being "lawless and arbitrary." Neither Guizot's *General History of Civilization in Europe*, nor George Bancroft's *History of the United States* escaped general notice in the South, and the latter came in for severe criticism in some quarters.

But what did those people in the South who cared to have an opinion think about history, apart from whether it be a science or not? What should be its content and what its purpose? There was some difference of views then as now, but there was much said then which many people unwittingly think is modern. The tendency then as now among the less erudite was to assign to history the chief purpose of making the past grand and glorious and all of its figures heroes, and therefore it should make the present and future have occasion for loving their country.²⁵ Among the more thoughtful a revolt was developing against the practice of making of history only a heroic story of kings and battles. S. Henry Dickson, of Charleston, South Carolina, in "An Essay on the Difficulties in the Way of the Historian," said in 1846:

By the tradition and history of former years, while the deeds of the gentle and the lofty are loudly sung and fondly repeated, the lowest classes of every nation have been unnoticed, unless to be numbered, as by David, and taxed, as the whole world was by Augustus Caesar.

. . . While we peruse the writings of past ages, we ask involuntarily and ask in vain, where are the people?—here is a phantasmagoria of kings and nobles—priests and councillors—knights, and merchants, and squires—and the immediate retainers and dependents of these, as soldiers and servants; but where are the millions?—how do they live, and in what offices are they employed?²⁶

Twenty years later this philosophy was being preached:

For instance, from reading the histories extant of Egypt, Greece and Carthage, one might suppose that these powers did nothing but wage war and plot each others downfall. . . . It should be the object of the historian to present a clear, distinct and vivid picture of the times concerning which he writes. He should portray the home life of the common people as well as the ceremonies and pageants of courts. He should tell us what were their means of support, what comforts they enjoyed, and what were their pleasures. No circumstances should be deemed too trivial which will in any wise illustrate the subject. Such homely

²⁵ For example, see "Judge Law's Oration before the Georgia Historical Society, February 12, 1840," in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, I (1840), 1-41.

²⁶ *Southern Literary Messenger*, XII (1846), 110.

themes some consider beneath the dignity of history; but the main springs of national action lie in the character, habits and wants of the common people, and no one who disregards these can hope to have an understanding of the causes from which greater events proceed.²⁷

Yet there were those who much earlier perceived a spirit in history that was becoming broad and philosophical. In 1837 in "An Address Delivered before the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society," Thomas W. Gilmer said, in a manner that sounds very modern:

History is now associated with philosophy; with that philosophy which scans with microscopic severity the deep current of public events; which traces out moral effects to their causes and their consequences; which analyzes the mysterious and complex fabric of society; which investigates and establishes truth; which discriminates justly between the transient prejudice of an hour and the enduring sentiment of ages.²⁸

But with all the thoughts and actions of the ante-bellum South, practical historical activities and developments never got far beyond state lines. The slavery system and the attacks of the North upon it, welded the Southern states into a spiritual unity on that subject, but they still thought of their history largely within state lines. They wrote much to defend Southern institutions and Southern civilization, but no one thought of writing a Southern history or of organizing a Southern historical society. In 1861 civil war came and then the people forgot all about the writing of history; instead, they began making history. They lost the war and their nationality, but they went through an experience which touched profounder depths and involved more fundamental principles than had come into their lives since the planting of Jamestown. Here in the course of four years enough history had been made to keep many generations busy investigating and writing it; and here was something for those who liked heroic history and much for those who liked to philosophize on cause and consequence. But there was even more; for here was the great task to see that the truth be told and the record kept straight. Out of the crucible of war there was born a sense of unity in their history; and so now, their history could become regional instead

²⁷ L. L. Veazey, "History," in *Scott's Monthly Magazine* (Atlanta), I (1866), 208.

²⁸ *Southern Literary Messenger*, III (1837), 97.

of state, just as their feelings in ante-bellum times had become sectional instead of state.

The most immediate effect the war had on the historical consciousness of the South was the writing of the lives and war experiences of the heroes by the heroes themselves and by others and the recounting of the campaigns by the leaders. Writers produced lives of "Stonewall" Jackson even before the end of the war, but no one could have planned much earlier the history of the conflict than James B. McCabe, Jr., who said, "In May, 1861, I commenced to collect such papers and documents, both official and unofficial, relating to the war, as I could procure." By the end of the struggle he had on hand more than fifteen thousand papers and documents, and in 1866 he brought out the *Life and Campaigns of General Robert E. Lee*.²⁹ Immediately after the war General Lee considered writing a history of his campaigns, solely as a last tribute to his men, and he asked other leaders to write their campaigns. For a time Lee set about systematically collecting reports and documents; but he found it very difficult to secure some necessary material. It is said that he was refused by the war department the use of documents which it had, but no positive proof has been found so far that Lee ever applied.³⁰ Lee gradually gave up his intention of writing his history, but many of the other Confederate leaders, following his advice, wrote their accounts, some for glory, some for money, some to defend their reputations, and some only for the love of it.

Most of the writings by the war generation were deeply tinged with the defense element, and especially was this so with those who wrote civil and political history. Alexander H. Stephens wrote two volumes in his *Constitutional View of the War Between the States*³¹ to show the justice of the South's course, and Jefferson Davis wrote his two volumes on the *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, largely for the same purpose.³²

²⁹ See page 3 of the book. Published in Atlanta, by the National Publishing Company.

³⁰ D. S. Freeman, *R. E. Lee. A Biography* (New York, 1935), IV, 213, 235, 236.

³¹ Published in 1868 and 1870.

³² Published in 1881.

The North, having won the war on the battlefield, immediately set out to win it again and consolidate victory on the printed page. A flood of books appeared, and the South took umbrage at most of them. A new invasion was on, and the South must meet words with words—but words based on historical facts. Said Edward A. Pollard in 1866, "All persons in the South who assist in getting the true testimony of their unfortunate struggle, perform a last, but most important office of faithful love, and do a noble work in rescuing the name of a lost cause from the slanders of those who, having been our accusers and executioners in this present time, would also be our judges at the Bar of History."³³ And ten years later R. Randolph Stevenson was saying, "The Southern actors in the great struggle would be recreant to the duty which they owe to their posterity, were they to permit the false allegations of the Northern historians to be accepted as true without attempting a refutation and vindication."³⁴

History now took on for Southerners a more practical character than had ever appeared before in all the annals of the South. It was the last stronghold of the South not for the defense of its nationality but for the protection of something more dear and sacred, its reputation. Defeated on the battlefields, it was again suffering in Reconstruction the defeat of its reasonable expectations of an honorable peace. With Jefferson Davis destined never to be tried, and the Reconstruction Acts withheld from the judges, it was denied the right of that vindication in the courts which it had reason to expect. For years unrepresented in the halls of Congress, and then misrepresented there by Scalawags and Carpet-baggers, the South had only one tribunal left—the Bar of History. As Benjamin H. Hill said:

Thus, denied by our enemies the opportunity of silencing, by the solemn judgments of their own courts, the fierce accusations of criminality in secession; and denied, by our enemies and the follies of our own people, the glorious chance of vindicating our cause in high debate, and face to face with the chosen champions of our accusers, we have but one resource left us for our defense or vin-

³³ *The Last Year of the War* (New York, 1866), 4.

³⁴ *The Southern Side; or, Andersonville Prison* (Baltimore, 1876), 6.

dication. That resource is history—impartial, and unpassioned, un-office-seeking history.

And further, "We owe it, therefore, to our dead, to our living, and to our children, to be active in the work of preserving the truth and repelling the falsehoods, so that we may secure, for them and for us, just judgment from the only tribunal before which we can be fully and fairly heard."⁸⁵ And Benjamin M. Palmer said, "Sir, there is a tribunal before which even nations must appear—a tribunal before which old causes shall be retried and the final verdict be rendered which can never again be reversed."⁸⁶

In this new struggle, co-operation was no less desirable and necessary than in the war just ended. Historical workers should march together no less surely than soldiers, and ammunition should be garnered, stored, and used with as much precision. Thus, there was enacted the splendid spectacle of erstwhile warriors turned historians and conservers of history. Generals now became scholars.

On May Day, 1869, in the City of New Orleans, there was founded "by a number of gentlemen" the Southern Historical Society. The organization of this society was suggested by General Dabney H. Maury, and among the gentlemen who participated in the first meeting were General Maury, General Braxton Bragg, General S. B. Buckner, General P. G. T. Beauregard, and Reverend Benjamin M. Palmer. They might well have called their organization the Confederate Historical Society, for so it was and always remained. Benjamin M. Palmer, an eminent Presbyterian divine, was elected president, and the work of collecting documents was started.⁸⁷

It was soon seen that the location of New Orleans was unfavorable to the success of the venture, and so in 1873 the executive committee issued a call for a meeting of the Society to be held on August 14 at Montgomery White Sulphur Springs in Virginia. Here delegates from twelve Southern states met, "embracing some of the most distinguished

⁸⁵ B. H. Hill, Jr., *Senator Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia. His Life, Speeches and Writings* (Atlanta, 1893), 405, 406.

⁸⁶ *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond), X (1882), 253.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I (1876), 39, 40; VI (1878), 244, 245.

soldiers and civilians of the Confederacy," and unanimously agreed to reorganize the Society. A grand confederation of historical societies was planned. The parent society should be located in Virginia and all of its officials should be residents of that state, with the exception of its vice-presidents. The latter should each be president of a state society, and throughout the states were to be organized federated local societies. Voting in the parent society should be by states and each state should have two votes. General Jubal A. Early was elected president of this reorganized Southern Historical Society and the Reverend J. William Jones, secretary-treasurer. The vice-presidents for the various states were as follows: R. M. T. Hunter for Virginia, General Isaac R. Trimble for Maryland, Governor Zebulon B. Vance for North Carolina, General M. C. Butler for South Carolina, General A. H. Colquitt for Georgia, Colonel W. Call for Florida, Admiral Raphael Semmes for Alabama, General William T. Martin for Mississippi, General J. B. Hood for Louisiana, Colonel T. M. Jack for Texas, Governor A. H. Garland for Arkansas, Governor Isham G. Harris for Tennessee, General J. S. Marmaduke for Missouri, General S. B. Buckner for Kentucky, and W. W. Corcoran, a Washington philanthropist, for the District of Columbia.

Little was ever done to give life to the state branches, though the ones in Kentucky, Louisiana, Georgia, and North Carolina seem to have existed for a time. In 1879 Buckner resigned from the presidency of the Kentucky branch and was succeeded by General William Preston; Benjamin M. Palmer soon became president of the Louisiana branch with Hood, Beauregard, and others as vice-presidents; Benjamin H. Hill helped to organize the Georgia branch; and the North Carolina branch seems to have bespoke its existence more becomingly than any of the others, in publishing four volumes (1874-1876) of a periodical called *Our Living and Our Dead; Devoted to North Carolina—her Past, her Present, and her Future*.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, I (1876), 40, 43, 44; VI (1878), 244, 245; VII (1879), 159, 253, 254; *Handbook of Learned Societies and Institutions, America* (Washington, 1908), 90.

The general purpose of the Southern Historical Society has been stated, but to be more specific, it set out to collect, classify, and preserve "all the documents and facts bearing upon the eventful history of the past few years, illustrating the nature of the struggle from which the country has just emerged, defining and vindicating the principles which lay beneath it, and marking the stages through which it was conducted to its issue." Its work should not be "purely sectional" nor of a "partisan character."³⁹ No time should be lost; the South was standing "upon the outer verge of a great historical cycle, within which a completed past will shortly be enclosed." Southerners must discharge a duty to their fathers whose principles they inherited and "to the children, who will then know whether to honor or dishonor the sires that begot them," and pay a debt to the dead on the battlefields from the Susquehanna to the Rio Grande.⁴⁰ The two greatest perils were time and the Federal government. Each day that passed saw documents lost, discarded, or accidentally burned; and the Federal government was systematically gathering all Confederate records possible. Added to the many documents it had captured at the end of the war, it had just recently bought for seventy-five thousand dollars from Colonel John T. Pickett five trunks of important Confederate archives. The policy of the government toward the use of this historical material by Southerners was most illiberal. Though the secretary of war was anxious to get copies of all documents owned by the Society, he consistently refused to allow representatives of that Society to have copies of Confederate records in his possession or even to see them.⁴¹

The Society immediately spread throughout the South its appeal for papers and documents. It wanted everything which could illuminate the history of the South, books, newspapers, manuscript material of all sorts, military reports, maps, charts, speeches, sermons, economic and

³⁹ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, I (1876), 41.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II (1876), 248, 249; V (1878), 35; VI (1878), 191, 192. In 1878 the secretary of war finally allowed Southerners to have access to these documents. *Ibid.*, VI (1878), 239, 240. During the period when these papers were not open to unrestricted use, it was easy to exclude the Southerners.

social material, poetry, ballads, songs, and anything else that the people would send. It was as much an act of patriotism now to send in this material as it had been in 1861 to join the Confederate army. The appeal did not go unheeded. There was a great outpouring of historical material throughout the former Confederacy, and within two years the Society was able to report that it expected soon to have accumulated "a complete arsenal from which the defenders of our cause may draw any desired weapon."⁴² To guarantee the safety of this material, the Virginia legislature gave the Society quarters in the state capitol, where its archives would be as safe as those of the state government.⁴³

As for the publication of a definitive history of the Confederacy and of the war, there was a general feeling that such an undertaking should wait for a future generation. In writing his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* Jefferson Davis said that he had "sought to furnish material for the future historian, who, when the passions and prejudices of the day shall have given place to reason and sober thought, may, better than a contemporary, investigate the causes, conduct, and results of the war."⁴⁴ And John B. Gordon declared as late as 1903, "The man capable of writing it with entire justice to both sides is perhaps yet unborn."⁴⁵

The Society disclaimed any intention of promoting a history of the war; its great task was to make available the material on which the future historian must rest his account. The Society, however, was not to forego all publication activities. It decided to publish various documents for the interest they would have for the contemporary generation, and as a complete guarantee against the loss of the material itself. The necessity was further heightened by the fact that in 1874 Congress had ordered the beginning of the publication of the official records of

⁴² *Ibid.*, I (1876), 44.

⁴³ This Society gathered together the finest collection of Confederate material in existence. It was later turned over to the Confederate Memorial Literary Society, which preserves it in Richmond.

⁴⁴ Preface, iii.

⁴⁵ *Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York, 1903), preface, xi.

the Union and Confederate armies, which work ultimately ran into one hundred and twenty-eight volumes and cost almost three million dollars, being the well-known *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. At first there was a deep suspicion among Southerners, born not entirely without reason, that the Confederate records and dispatches would not be faithfully reproduced. Here was an immediate task for the Southern Historical Society; it should begin the publication of its Confederate records. Beginning in January, 1874, and continuing for a year and a half the Society, under contract with the Messrs. Turnbull of Baltimore, published twenty pages each month in the *Southern Magazine*.⁴⁶ This arrangement, being a makeshift, was naturally unsatisfactory, and so in January, 1876, the Society began a monthly journal of its own, which it called the *Southern Historical Society Papers*. The editor announced this policy: "We shall publish nothing which does not bear directly on the War Between the States, and proper understanding of the measures, men and deeds of those stirring times."⁴⁷ He hoped "that those who are interested in vindicating the truth of Confederate History will sustain the enterprise and make it a complete success."⁴⁸ This publication for fourteen years ran as a monthly, it then became annual, and within recent years it has appeared only occasionally. It has included a great many valuable documents.

The success of the *Papers* in the beginning was greatly aided by a yearly contribution of five hundred dollars made by W. W. Corcoran of Washington. Depending upon such donations and upon the sale of its publications, the Society after a few years was much encumbered with debts, and there was for a time danger that it might be forced to hand over its valuable collections to its creditors, and disband. J. William Jones, the secretary of the Society and the editor of the *Papers*, made heroic efforts to save the situation; Confederate leaders took to the lecture platform to raise money for an endowment; and Jefferson

⁴⁶ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, I (1876), 46; VI (1878), 245.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I (1876), 108.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.

Davis was asked to tour the South in the interest of the Society. Though not entering onto a speaking trip, the former Confederate president spoke in New Orleans in 1882 before a meeting which raised for the Society more than fifteen hundred dollars.⁴⁹ After Jones had passed on, the Society became somewhat inactive, though it has never disbanded in name. Its president now is Douglas Southall Freeman, the author of the recent biography of Robert E. Lee.

All of the historical activity in the South following the Civil War was not predicated upon or bound up with that unfortunate struggle. In the period from 1865 to the end of the century, able scholars set to work in every Southern state to rewrite state history or to bring up some of the lagging states like Mississippi and Arkansas. To name only a few: J. T. Scharf in Maryland, Philip A. Bruce and John Esten Cooke in Virginia, Stephen B. Weeks and Samuel A. Ashe in North Carolina, Edward McCrady in South Carolina, C. C. Jones, Jr., in Georgia, George R. Fairbanks in Florida, William Garret Brown, Peter J. Hamilton, and Thomas M. Owen in Alabama, J. F. H. Claiborne, Robert Lowery, and W. H. McCardle in Mississippi, Charles Gayarré and Grace King in Louisiana, George P. Garrison in Texas, John H. Reynolds in Arkansas, W. R. Garrett and A. V. Goodpasture in Tennessee, and Richard H. Collins and Z. F. Smith in Kentucky. The historians since 1900 are too numerous to mention and it would be invidious to make selections.

The historical societies went into eclipse during the Civil War, but since that time all of them have been revived, new ones have been organized, and the tendency has been within the last half century for these organizations either to become state historical commissions or to enter into arrangements whereby state aid is given. Thus, have most of the state governments at last awakened to the necessity of taking care of their historical records. The most satisfactory developments along this line have taken place in North Carolina, Mississippi, and Texas. Texas and Arkansas, which had no historical societies in ante-bellum

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, X (1882), 253; Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches* (Jackson, Miss., 1923), IX, 141, 142; X, 112.

times, organized respectively the Texas Historical Association in 1897 and the Arkansas Historical Association in 1903.⁵⁰ Another evidence of progress in this newer age was the appearance of historical magazines in practically every state, issued either by the state historical society or the state historical commission. The publications of these organizations are now voluminous.

State governments have shown their interest in historical activities not only by the organization of historical commissions, but many of them have financed the copying of their records in Europe and provided for their publication. North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia are notable examples of states engaging in this work.

The activities of individuals in writing histories and of states in carrying on the work of historical commissions showed that there was ample enthusiasm for history other than that based on the Confederate War. It was inevitable that the Southern Historical Society should be forced to broaden its interests or another society would be organized to cover the non-Confederate aspects of Southern history. The Southern Historical Society was born Confederate and it has always remained so; therefore, a new historical society grew up for the South, not for another Southern state. And since Confederates ran the Southern Historical Society no less than they had run the war, it was to be expected that nonparticipants in the war would have much to do with the new society.

The election of a Democrat in 1892 to be president of the United States seems to have been an adventitious cause for the founding of a new Southern historical society; for President Cleveland brought to Washington into the government service many able Southerners. With the driving force coming from this source, there was sent out from Washington in 1896 an invitation signed by nearly a hundred names, calling for a new Southern historical organization. The people represented in the call were widely scattered and represented various pro-

⁵⁰ See Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Preservation of Texas History," in *North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (1929), 1-16; David Y. Thomas, "The Preservation of Arkansas History," *ibid.*, V (1928), 263-74.

fessions. There were the inevitable Confederate generals, such as Wade Hampton, M. C. Butler, and George Washington Custis Lee; there were college professors such as Woodrow Wilson of Princeton University and Kemp Plummer Battle of the University of North Carolina; and such other able leaders as Jabez L. M. Curry, Walter Hines Page, Richard Malcom Johnston, and Stephen B. Weeks. Also six college presidents signed the call. This was not considered to be a movement of hostility against the Southern Historical Society, for the secretary of that organization, Colonel R. A. Brock, signed the call.⁵¹

The first meeting was held on April 24, 1896, at Columbian University in Washington (now George Washington University), with Stephen B. Weeks in the chair. Jabez L. M. Curry was chosen temporary president, and after various remarks, including a speech by General Butler on the backwardness of the South in preserving its historical records, a constitution was adopted. The name first suggested was "An Association for the Study of Southern History," but its manifest clumsiness led to the adoption of the title, "Southern History Association." William L. Wilson of West Virginia, Cleveland's postmaster general, was elected president; and among the vice-presidents were Jabez L. M. Curry, Marcus J. Wright, Thomas Nelson Page, and Woodrow Wilson.⁵²

The purpose of the new organization was "the encouragement of original research, discussion, and conference among members, the widening of personal acquaintance, publication of work, and the collection of historical materials."⁵³ This association embraced the modern ideas of historical activities. According to the old traditions, historical societies should have a set of officers and a library and there should be a membership, not too widespread, and there should be annual meetings, at which orations should be delivered but at which, as time went on, it often happened that nothing was done more exciting than reading the official reports. This new society had got inspiration from

⁵¹ *Publications of the Southern History Association* (Washington), I (1897), 2-4.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 4-8.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1.

the American Historical Association, which had been organized in 1884, and which in 1895 had started a historical periodical, the *American Historical Review*. There were to be annual meetings at which carefully prepared papers should be read, which should later be published in a journal. The first annual meeting was held on June 12, 1896, papers were read, and seventy-nine members were enrolled. In January following, the first issue of the Association's journal appeared, called *Publications of the Southern History Association*.⁵⁴

This Association started out with the resolution that there was much work to be done. Stephen B. Weeks, in a paper "On the Promotion of Historical Studies in the South," said, "In no respect, perhaps, has the South been more silent, more careless of her own duty to herself, than in the matter of history writing and book collecting. We complain that Northern men and foreigners misunderstand and misrepresent us. Who is responsible for this misunderstanding and misrepresentation but ourselves?"⁵⁵ This Association seems never to have made a collection of its own as did the Southern Historical Society; but it published in its journal a number of valuable historical articles and conducted for the South its first modern historical magazine. Papers on all periods of Southern history were published, documents were included, and books were reviewed. This publication never came under the domination of college professors and educational institutions, and, perhaps, in that fact its life was shortened. Indeed, it came to look upon the type of history the college professor taught and wrote as almost useless. By the coming of the new century, there was much being said about scientific history and objective history writing. The editor of the *Publications* was downright against both. Concerning the former, he said in 1907, "The one distinguishing and inevitable mark of scientific history thus far is dullness, deep, dense, supreme, unrelieved by glimpse of nature or spark of life."⁵⁶

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, XI (1907), 303.

But the Southern History Association never succeeded in making itself much more than a society of Southern gentlemen residing in Washington. Its days, too, were numbered. With the coming of the Republicans in 1897, Postmaster General William L. Wilson, president of the Association, retired from office and left Washington. Jabez L. M. Curry was elected president and served until his death in 1903, when Marcus J. Wright was elected to succeed him. Soon the annual meetings dwindled in importance until they were held in the office of the president, and in 1907 the last issue of the *Publications of the Southern History Association* appeared. The membership of the Association never grew far beyond two hundred.⁵⁷ The dictum seemed to be fixed and final that historical societies of broader interests than state lines could not be properly nurtured by generals, editors, diplomats, and governmental employees alone. Something more seemed to be needed.

And then the era of the college professor and of the educational institution arrived. The stabilizing influences produced by these factors have led to the organization and continuance of many learned societies, whose days may also be numbered, but the end is not yet in sight. The scientific objective history of the college professor has been tempered in recent years with more artistry. The old saying that "If it is interesting it is not history" no longer holds. The college professor today is beginning to see that there is art as well as science in history-writing, and this discovery may add many cubits to the size of historical societies and many days to their life. We may all hope with reason that this newly-organized Southern Historical Association will live for many years to perform a work that has long waited to be done.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, II (1898), 4, 7; III (1899), 180, 181; VI (1902), 457; VII (1903), 69. In 1902 Thomas M. Owen and Joel C. Du Bose began the publication of the *Gulf States Historical Magazine* (Montgomery, Birmingham), which ran for two years, and then failed on account of finances. It was not the organ of an historical association.

Duff Green: Industrial Promoter

By FLETCHER M. GREEN

Almost forgotten today, Duff Green was, in his own time, as well known as Francis P. Blair or Horace Greeley; and his name was for nearly half a century a household word throughout the nation.¹ A man of versatile interests, wide information, shrewd insight, and unflagging industry, he had an interesting and varied career. Born in Kentucky in 1791, Green was successively a schoolteacher; a captain in the War of 1812; an associate of René Paul in mercantile interests in the West; a government land surveyor in Missouri; a lawyer; a member of the Missouri constitutional convention of 1820, and of both houses of the state legislature; a brigadier general in the state militia; a government mail contractor; the owner and editor of several newspapers, including the *St. Louis Enquirer*, the *United States Telegraph*, the *Examiner*, the *Pilot*, and the *Republic*; the special agent of President Tyler in England, France, and Mexico; a United States consul at Galveston, Texas; the promoter, organizer, and contractor of numerous industrial enterprises; and a writer on finance and currency.² He died in Dalton, Georgia, in 1875.

Throughout his long and distinguished career, Green was dominated by three great passions: to make money; to secure the election of his friend, John C. Calhoun, to the presidency; and to unify and de-

¹ J. L. P. Smith to Asa Packer, October 18, 1867. This letter, other manuscripts, newspaper clippings, and pamphlets cited in this article are in the Green Papers at present in the possession of the author. The Papers contain several letter books, together with many loose letters to and from Green, newspaper clippings concerning Green and his activities, a large number of manuscripts varying in length from a few to more than one hundred pages, and many pamphlets.

² "Duff Green," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII (1935), 540-41.

velop the interests of the South as a section in the Union. All three of these, Green thought, might be advanced by a program of industrial development. Certainly money was to be made in coal and iron mining, in canal and railway construction, and through industrial organizations and commercial agencies. Green believed that Calhoun might further his candidacy for the presidency by attending and taking an active part in the Chicago internal improvements convention of 1847. He wrote Calhoun that the bank and the tariff issues had passed away but that the Memphis railroad convention and President Polk's vetoes of rivers and harbors bills had given a new impulse to the question of internal improvements. Green believed that the Chicago convention, if rightly directed, would do much to control the question. He said: "There is no other mode of touching the pocket nerve so efficiently as the system of Internal Improvement and it is with you now to say what direction that question shall take. By going to Chicago you can do much to control it."³

Green feared that if the South opposed appropriations for rivers and harbors and other internal improvement projects, the West and East would carry the measures. And "In that case Abolition and improvements go together & strengthen each other. On the other hand if the South unite with the West *now* and by entering into this convention moderate and regulate the system, they command the West as allies and secure their aid in denouncing and suppressing abolition."⁴

In a letter to the Governor of Alabama, Green warned against the "fanaticism and ambition" of the North which would inevitably lead to an "unholy war upon the South." He said:

We must prepare for this conflict . . . How? Not by Disunion . . . for that will accelerate the crisis. Our only hope lies in this . . . that mind and money govern the world. We must educate our sons and our daughters in reference to their duty, and we must avail ourselves of all the proper means of acquiring wealth. . . . We must develop our resources and increase our wealth by stimulating the industry of our people. As one means of doing this we must make good Roads that our people may associate more with each other

³ Green to Calhoun, May 28, 1847.

⁴ Green to F. H. Elmore, May 29, 1847; Green to R. K. Cralle, May 30, 1847.

and increase the profits of labor by diminishing the expense of transporting its products to market. . . . Give us good Roads, and union & concert and we need fear no danger.⁵

In line with this theory Green devoted more than thirty-five years of his life to the industrial development of the South.

First of his industrial projects was a combination of land speculation and coal mining. Acting upon the advice of his physician, Green in 1835 gave up the sedentary life of an editor and went to the Sulphur Springs of Virginia for a rest cure.⁶ Riding over the mountains he observed outcroppings of coal and purchased sixty thousand acres of mineral lands in Virginia and Maryland. He secured charters from these two states for the Union and the Union Potomac companies, sold stock and organized the companies with the privilege of constructing canals and railroads to connect his mines with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal.⁷ The panic of 1837 caused the work to be suspended but Green later combined the two companies, secured the aid of engineers and capitalists,⁸ and renewed the enterprise. A canal was constructed from the mouth of the Savage River to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal; and the New Creek, the Potomac Mining Company, and the Cumberland Coal Mining Company successfully mined and marketed the coal.

At one time Green and his associates controlled more than two and one-half million acres of mining lands in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania. The construction of canals to his mines aroused Green's interest in the possibility of that means of transportation, and during the 1840's he became interested in various canal projects. He contracted with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company

⁵ Duff Green "To the Governor of Alabama." This open letter is undated but internal evidence indicates that it was written in the 1850's and that it was addressed either to J. A. Winston or to A. B. Moore.

⁶ Duff Green "To the Editor of the Times, St. Louis, Missouri," May 1, 1873, p. 3; Ben E. Green MS. The latter document is a review of the business relations of Ben E. and Duff Green covering the years from about 1835 to 1875, and contains about sixty unnumbered pages.

⁷ *Charters of the Union Company and Union Potomac Company* (Baltimore, 1840), 1.

⁸ Among his associates were James W. McCulloh, D. B. Douglas, Charles F. Mayer, James H. Hamilton, James Renwick, J. J. A. Ebbetts, and R. W. Latham.

for the completion of that work;⁹ he was interested in and secured charters from Texas and Louisiana for canals connecting the Sabine and Rio Grande rivers, and the Sabine with the Red and Mississippi rivers;¹⁰ he also projected a ship canal from Newark, New Jersey, to the Atlantic Ocean.¹¹ He secured a patent on a process for deepening the channel of streams and building embankments and applied to both Louisiana and Virginia for charters to carry out such work on the Mississippi River and in Norfolk Harbor.¹²

Green's mining operations while on an extensive scale were not very profitable because of the lack of transportation facilities and most of his canal projects never materialized. He therefore turned to railroads as a more feasible means of transportation. When the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad decided, in 1847, to extend its line west from the Cumberland, Green bid for and secured the contract for the construction of sixty miles of the road. He agreed to take bonds of the road in payment and asked also for a special rate for the transportation of his coal. Failing to secure the latter he sublet his contract to others.¹³ Through his friendship with John Y. Mason, secretary of the navy, Green secured the contract to construct and repair vessels of the government. He obtained capital from Simon Cameron and employed A. Mehaffy to conduct the work and opened the Gosport Navy Yard.¹⁴ Here were built among others the famous *Powhatan*.

Green's contract with the Baltimore and Ohio had demonstrated to him, in his own words,

that a proper development of our railways would so increase the value of our property & especially of our agricultural products as to enable us to organize a

⁹ J. M. Coale, president of the Chesapeake and Ohio, to Green, January 6, 1844; Green to Everett & Kettle, March 17, 1844.

¹⁰ Green to Thomas F. McKinney, January 9, 1846; McKinney to Green, January 19, 1846.

¹¹ Andrew Talcott to Green, May 4, 1846.

¹² Green to E. Burke, September 4, 1846; Ben E. Green MS.

¹³ Green to Moreau Delano, May 24, 1847; Green to Edward Learned, Jr., May 24, 1847; Green to J. Gonder, Jr., May 24, 1847; Green to S. R. Brooks, May 24, 1847; Green to Louis McLane, June 17, 1847; Green to R. M. McLane, September 6, 1847; Green to Charles Gould, July 31, 1847.

¹⁴ Green to Simon Cameron, August 9, 10, 26, 1847; Green to A. Mehaffey, September 2, 7, 22, 23, 28, 1847.

financial system competent for our protection. I saw that it was the purpose of the English party in Boston to use their influence financially & politically to give such strength to the *Northern* feeling & prejudice, as to create a controlling *Northern* influence, sectional, financial & political & that with this view they were making extraordinary efforts to identify the North West with the North East.¹⁵

Green determined to counteract this sectional influence by bringing about a consolidation of the railroad lines in the South and began, in 1846, to interest capitalists in the idea of a great Southern system of railways.¹⁶ Backed by Eastern capitalists he began to buy up key roads in the South.¹⁷ The purpose of this program was to give, ultimately, a main line connecting Washington and New Orleans by way of Lynchburg, the Holston Valley, and Nashville,¹⁸ and another from Washington to Mobile by way of Richmond, Raleigh, Columbia, Augusta, Atlanta, and Montgomery.¹⁹

In 1848, Green revived interest in the East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad, took the contract for the construction of a part of it, and was instrumental in completing the line from Knoxville, Tennessee, to Dalton, Georgia.²⁰ Supplementary to this project, Green secured a charter for the Georgia Exporting Company for engaging in export trade. He attempted to secure a contract with the Federal government for five vessels to carry on this trade.²¹

In the hope of obtaining a better economic alliance of the South and West, Green called a meeting of all those interested in the develop-

¹⁵ Green "To the Editor of the Times, St. Louis, Missouri," 5.

¹⁶ Edward Learned, Jr., William Ward, David Henshaw, and Daniel Carmichael were all interested in purchases.

¹⁷ They were interested in the following roads: East Tennessee and Georgia, Nashville, Portsmouth and Roanoke, Gaston and Raleigh, Wilmington and Raleigh, Virginia and Tennessee, Seaboard and Roanoke, and the Montgomery. Green to Charles L. Hinton, April 9, 1847; Green to Thomas B. Frick, November 13, 1846; William Ward to Green, April 10, 1847; Green to Ward, April 22, November 18, December 17, 1847, March 26, 1848; Green to John Bell, April 4, 1848.

¹⁸ Green to L. A. Cazenove, April 19, 1848.

¹⁹ Green to Charles T. Pollard, June 3, 1847.

²⁰ Duff Green, *To the People of East Tennessee* (n. p., n. d.), 2, 5; *Records of the Bills, Answers, and Exhibits, Duff Green vs E. T. & Ga. R. R. Co.* (New York, 1856), 3-10.

²¹ *Sen. Jour.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess. (1850-1851), 570; *Misc. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess. (1850-1851), I, no. 122.

ment of railroads in these sections, which assembled in Washington, December 3, 1851. He formulated a program for governmental aid to railway construction based on mail contracts. The convention approved the plan and a memorial to Congress was prepared. Congress gave the project a favorable report and took the matter under advisement but never carried the plan into action.²²

Failing to obtain the financial support he desired, Green, nevertheless, proceeded during the next ten years to secure charters and organize companies for the building of several railroads in the South and West. First he secured charters for roads in Georgia and Alabama and some of the roads were constructed.²³ Working on the idea of a Southern Pacific road, he entered into communication with President Arista of Mexico and asked for a charter for a road to connect the Rio Grande with the Pacific by way of Mexico City, with branches from that city to Vera Cruz, Acapulco and Matamoros. Green urged Arista to send an able minister to Washington, hoping to get the support of both the Mexican and United States governments. In 1854, Mexico chartered the Rio Grande, Mexican, and Pacific Railway.²⁴

To link this road with those of the Gulf Coast states, Green secured a charter from Texas for the Sabine and Rio Grande Railroad Company. This company was authorized to construct a road from near the thirty-first degree on the Sabine by way of San Antonio to the Rio Grande near the Presidio del Rio Grande. By the terms of the charter and subsequent acts, Texas granted the road 10,240 acres of land and a loan of \$6000 per mile. The road was organized with Duff Green as president and a contract was made, in 1856, with the Lester L. Robinson Company for its construction. Robinson forfeited his contract in 1858 and Green secured the contract for his American Improvement

²² *Daily American Telegraph*, January 12, 1852; *Southern Press*, March 8, 1852; *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess. (1859-1860), no. 85; *National Intelligencer*, August 15, 1857.

²³ Among the roads were the Dalton and Gadsden, the Georgia and Alabama, and the Alabama and Tennessee River.

²⁴ Green to President Arista (n.d.); Proposed Charter of the Mexican International Railroad Company (MS.); *Charter of the Rio Grande, Mexican, and Pacific Railroad Company* (n.p., n.d.), 10-19.

Company. Green then made arrangements with the Rio Grande, Mexican, and Pacific Railway Company for the union of the two roads.²⁵ Another link in the Southern Pacific line was the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad Company. This road was chartered by Louisiana and, supported by state, municipal, and private subscriptions, was well on the road to completion in 1854. It was to be joined with the Sabine and Rio Grande, giving connection from New Orleans to the Pacific.²⁶ Two other lines in which Green was a prime mover were the Florida Central, Atlantic and Gulf Railroad, chartered in 1852, and the New Mexican Railway, chartered in 1860.²⁷

This comprehensive scheme for Southern railroads would have given a main line from Washington to the Pacific coast by way of Lynchburg, Knoxville, Nashville, Birmingham, Montgomery, Mobile, New Orleans, San Antonio, and Mexico City, and another from Washington to Montgomery by way of Richmond, Raleigh, Columbia, Augusta, and Atlanta. There would also have been connecting lines to Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, and Jacksonville. To buy up the roads already built and to construct the line from New Orleans to the Pacific and other connecting lines would require enormous capital. Green set himself to the task of organizing some agency which might provide the corporate capital based on railroad stock, and manipulated by a general holding company. Neither did he ignore the idea of government aid in land grants, loans, and mail contracts.

Believing that railroad bonds might be an efficient basis of credit to secure money for developing the mineral resources and the construction of railroads and thus aid labor and increase the wealth of the South, Green applied to the legislature of New Jersey for a charter for a

²⁵ Duff Green (MS.), "The Sabine and Rio Grande Railroad Company"; Duff Green, *Memorial of the President of the Sabine and Rio Grande Railroad Company* (Washington, 1860), 1; Journal of the Proceedings of the Sabine and Rio Grande Railroad Company, 1854, 1856, 1857 (MS.).

²⁶ Duff Green (MS.), "Southern Railroads"; *Second Annual Report of the New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad Company* (New Orleans, 1854), 3, 4; Green, *Memorial of the President of the Sabine and Rio Grande Railroad Company*, 1.

²⁷ Governor R. K. Call to Green, February 11, 1852; "Book of Subscription for the New Mexican Railway Company" (MS.), 9.

"Railroad Trust Company." The bill was defeated, according to Green, "by the influence of gamblers and speculators in Wall Street."²⁸ He then applied to the legislature of Pennsylvania for a charter for the "Pennsylvania Fiscal Agency." While the bill passed by a nearly unanimous vote, Governor Asa Packer hesitated to approve it for fear that Green's plan for the Southern Pacific could not be carried through. The promoter then prepared *An Argument Addressed to his Excellency the Governor of Pennsylvania, in Support of the Bill to Incorporate the Pennsylvania Fiscal Agency*, which induced Packer to agree to sign the bill, provided Green could get the Mexican government to acquiesce and European bondholders to subscribe their Mexican bonds to the road through the agency. Green prevailed on the Mexican Minister Jose Mata to go to Mexico and secure the consent of his government. The minister returned to Washington with Lerdo y Tejada, minister of finance, and the promise of Mexican support. Green then procured letters from President Buchanan and sailed from Boston, September 6, 1859. He conferred with George M. Dallas, United States minister to England, Richard Cobden and Lord John Russell and they obtained for him a hearing before a committee of the Mexican bondholders. Green assured the committee that he was acting with the knowledge and approval of both the Mexican and United States governments and the Mexican creditors accepted the arrangements. Other British capitalists also agreed to subscribe for stock in the agency.²⁹

Upon Green's return in October, Governor Packer signed the bill and the agency was organized with Green as president and William Halsted treasurer.³⁰ Green then went to Mexico and sent David R. Porter, one

²⁸ Clipping from the *True American* (date line torn), February ? 1856; *Newark Daily Advertiser*, February 18, 1856; Green, *To the Editor of the Times*, 6.

²⁹ Duff Green, *An Argument Addressed to the Governor of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1859), 1, and *passim*; Green, *An Argument Addressed to the People of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1859), 1, and *passim*; Green, *An Address to the People of the United States*, 191-92; Green, *To the Editor of the Times*, 6-7; "Bill of Particulars in the Pennsylvania Fiscal Agency Case," 2-3; Green to Mrs. Lucretia M. Green, August 24, 25, September 30, 1859 (from London); Samuel R. Brooks to Green, July 11, 1859.

³⁰ Green to Lucretia M. Green, October 31, November 1, 8, 9, 12, 1859; David R. Porter to Green, November 18, 1859; Duff Green, *Reply to Interrogations in the Credit Mobilier Case* (n.p., n.d.), 8.

of his associates, to Texas to secure certain desired changes in their charters. This was accomplished and Green wrote his wife that it was "no small triumph to have devised the means of building the first road to the Pacific."⁸¹ But like other best laid plans of mice and men, Green's road program was cut short by the election of Lincoln and the secession of the Southern states. In 1862, Oliver W. Barnes, David R. Porter, and others reorganized the agency although Halsted, the treasurer, opposed reorganization on the ground that Green as president and owner of 42,000 of the 50,000 shares of stock could not be present.⁸² But the legislature of Pennsylvania was not disposed to favor a "rebel" and passed an act reorganizing and changing the name of the agency to the Credit Mobilier of America. It was this reorganized company which financed the Union Pacific Railroad and under Oakes Ames and others filched millions of dollars from the American people. After the war, Green sought to recover his rights under the original charter but the governor of Pennsylvania removed Ben H. Brewster, the attorney general who favored Green, and forbade the suit to be brought. Green then employed counsel and brought suit against the company which at first offered to compromise but later refused any settlement.⁸³ Whereupon, Green wrote B. H. Bristow, secretary of the treasury, and offered his interests in the company to the United States provided the government would push the case. This was refused and Green, without further recourse, dropped the matter.⁸⁴

Though opposed to secession, Green threw in his lot with the Confederacy. He published a pamphlet, *Facts and Suggestions on Currency and Direct Trade*, in which he urged the South to develop manufacturing, internal improvements, and natural resources as the only hope of defeating the North. Green immediately began the manufacture of

⁸¹ Green to Lucretia M. Green, November 8, 1859.

⁸² William Halsted to Green, April 3, November 11, 20, 1865.

⁸³ Included among his lawyers were B. H. Brewster, Edward Learned, Jr., R. J. and J. L. Brent, and Charles O'Connor.

⁸⁴ *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania vs. Sidney Dillon et al.* (Philadelphia, n.d.), 1-10; Green, *Bill of Particulars*, 3-7; Green, *Prospectus of the Credit Mobilier* (n. p., n. d.), 1-3; *The Credit Mobilier vs. Oakes Ames* (n.p., n.d.), 1-4; Green to B. H. Brewster, March 17, 1875; *Philadelphia Times*, May 1, 1877.

iron in the Coosa Valley, Georgia. He secured a contract with the departments of war and navy for the manufacture of carbines and imported skilled English laborers from New York to run the works. In 1862 he bought the Embreeville Iron Works in Washington County, Tennessee, and made a contract with Josiah Gorgas, chief of ordnance, to furnish one-half of the output of the iron works to the Confederate government; the remaining half he was permitted to sell in the open market.³⁵ At the Confederate Iron Works, Green manufactured guns, shot, shells, horseshoes, chains, nails, railroad iron, and iron for farm implements. Six new furnaces were opened at the Confederate Works and others in the Coosa Valley. Sawmills, railroads, flat and keel boats were constructed; iron and coal mines and a stone quarry were opened; and a thriving settlement was developed. In addition to civilian labor, Green was furnished a detail of disabled soldiers and was permitted to conscript up to fifty-four laborers for each furnace opened. The government detailed commissioned officers to preserve order and discipline at the works. The ordnance department reported that the Confederate Iron Works were of immense importance to Generals Bragg and Longstreet in their East Tennessee campaigns.³⁶

A competing company, the Vulcan Iron Works of Chattanooga, claimed that Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin was one of its stockholders and used this argument to spirit laborers away from the Confederate Iron Works. Green appealed directly to President Davis, Secretary of State Benjamin, and Secretary of War James A. Seddon. Benjamin denied any interest in, or knowledge of, the Vulcan Works and General A. E. Jackson reprimanded Captain A. L. Whitley and Colonel T. H. Logwood, who had been getting Green's laborers.³⁷

³⁵ Contract of Duff Green and Josiah Gorgas, April 1, 1863; contract of Duff Green and William K. Blair, October 28, 1862, May 22, 1863.

³⁶ Green to Captain W. F. Stone, March 29, June 10, August 7, 12, 1863; Green to Major J. M. St. John, April 10, 1863; Green to Colonel T. H. Logwood, May 12, 1863; Second Auditor's Report, September 15, 1863.

³⁷ Green to St. John, May 11, 1863; Green to Benjamin, May 11, 1863; Benjamin to Green, May 15, 1863; General A. E. Jackson to Green, May 21, 1863; Green to President Davis, November 10, 1863, with endorsements of Jefferson Davis, Lieutenant Colonel J. M. St. John, and J. A. Seddon.

The iron mines offered possibilities for further development after the war and Green took steps in that direction. He secured a charter for the Tennessee Mining and Manufacturing Company and planned to expand the works. On the 45,000 acres he proposed to develop iron and coal mining; to cultivate some 8000 acres of the fertile valley land in food stuffs; to open flax, cotton, and woolen mills; to run sawmills, gristmills, and blacksmith shops; and to lay out a model self-sufficient village to accommodate some 20,000 people engaged in the mines, farms, and factories.³⁸ This plan was cut short, however, by the Blair heirs who sued and recovered the property on the ground that the contract for the sale of the Embreeville Works had called for payment in current bank notes or Confederate treasury notes no longer legal tender.³⁹

Long a student of, and a prolific writer on, the subject of finance and currency,⁴⁰ Green earnestly sought an answer to the question facing the devastated South: namely, where may the capital necessary for the rebuilding of the South's economic order be found? He believed that the chief source of credit was land and he determined to organize an association to which Southern landowners might subscribe up to fifty per cent of the value of their lands and borrow from the association fifty per cent of their subscriptions. He secured a charter for the American Industrial Agency with the Maryland branch as the clearing-house for branch agencies in all the Southern states.⁴¹ The chief object

³⁸ Green To the Planters Insurance, Trust and Loan Company, June 3, 1864; *Prospectus of the Tennessee Mining and Manufacturing Company* (Washington, 1865), 3, 5; *The East Tennessee Industrial Company* (n.p., n.d.), 1, 2, 4, 7. Many letters between Green and C. F. L. Smith, the engineer in charge of the plant, are in the Green Papers.

³⁹ R. S. Blair vs. Duff Green, May 19, 1866; Affidavit of Thomas A. R. Nelson, April 28, 1866.

⁴⁰ Among others, Green published the following: *Facts and Suggestions on the Subject of Currency and Direct Trade* (Macon, 1861); *Facts and Suggestions Relative to Finance and Currency addressed to the President of the Confederate States* (Augusta, 1864); *A Memorial and a Bill Relating to Finance, National Currency, Debt, Revenue* (Memphis, 1869); *How to Pay off the National Debt, Regulate the Value of Money, and Maintain Stability in the Values of Property and Labor* (Philadelphia, 1872).

⁴¹ Other companies chartered were the Contractors Association, the American Improvement Company, the Planters Insurance, Trust, and Loan Company, the Central Transit Company, and the Mississippi American Industrial Agency, the last affiliated with the

of these agencies was "to aid the development of agriculture, mining, manufactures, and commerce in the United States, and especially of the South and Western States";⁴² or, as one of the charters stated it: "for the purpose of reviving the industry and restoring the prosperity of the Southern States, by so organizing the associated credit of Southern land owners, as to put an end to the onerous [*sic*] conditions enacted at present for advances to enable them to cultivate their lands."⁴³

Newspaper comment was generally favorable to the plan. A Texas editor thought the

enterprise . . . worthy of confidence and as promising largely and safely to advance our material interests. . . . It offers to the capitalist ample security and large returns, and speedy civil recourse in realizing their money when due. It offers, on the other hand, to the land owner and laborer, money upon moderate interest, and upon time that will not jeopardise his property interest.⁴⁴

Another editor wrote as follows: "after careful consideration of the subject, it appears to us that the plan here proposed is the best that has been suggested as a means of restoring the industrial prosperity of the South."⁴⁵ The Memphis *Avalanche* (March 23, 1869) thought the agency "the most practical scheme for the development of the interests of the Southern States." And a correspondent of Governor Packer said that he knew of "nothing at this moment more likely to save the nation from total ruin than such a support of the truth as . . . [Green] will be able to afford if . . . [he gets his] association & its organ into full operation in good time."⁴⁶

British capitalists were interested and sent M. J. McHaffie to investigate the agency. McHaffie was reported to have "arranged to make advances on cotton shipped to Liverpool."⁴⁷ In fact, the British cap-

London Mississippi Valley Association. States granting charters to one or more of Green's agencies were Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey. Branches were organized in other states and one at least in England.

⁴² Green, Memorial to Congress, March 15, 1866; Green to the Corporators of the American Industrial Agency, February 15, 1866.

⁴³ *Prospectus Maryland Industrial Agency* (n.p., n.d.), 5.

⁴⁴ *Houston Telegraph*, January 11, 1867.

⁴⁵ *Daily State Gazette* (New Jersey), March 5, 1867.

⁴⁶ J. L. P. Smith to Asa Packer, October 18, 1867.

⁴⁷ *Houston Journal*, January 10, 1867.

italists desired to subscribe to a majority of the stock and thus get control of the agency.⁴⁸ Southern planters were likewise anxious to subscribe their lands. One agent in Alabama sent in a subscription of one hundred forty thousand dollars and said he was confident of raising half a million.⁴⁹ A committee of the National Labor Union investigated the agency and was so favorably impressed that J. C. C. Whaley, president of the Union, supported Green as editor of the *People's Weekly*, a joint Union-Agency paper.⁵⁰ Branch agencies were even organized among the freedmen, though they were primarily savings bank clubs.⁵¹

In spite of such favorable reception the agencies failed. Among the factors to which Green attributed failure were the following: the uncertainty in regard to the resumption of specie payments; the refusal of Congress to provide for the early restoration of the Southern states into the Union; and the hesitancy of planters and capitalists "to engage in any Southern enterprises, which might be paralyzed by hostile and destructive legislation."⁵²

In his last years Green revived his earlier scheme of a Southern railway system. Not only did he attempt the union of various roads in Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, but he was also instrumental in building the Dalton, Rome, and Selma, the Dalton and Southwestern, and the Dalton and Jacksonville roads, all now a part of the Southern Railroad system.⁵³ He also revived his old plan of a Southern Pacific railway. He and A. K. Owen organized the Great

⁴⁸ Green to S. R. Brooks, May 9, 1866; Green to General W. M. Lawton (London), April 2, 1875.

⁴⁹ W. H. Kimbrough to Green, June 18, July 19, 1867.

⁵⁰ *People's Weekly*, April 11, 1868; *United States Telegraph and Weekly Visitor*, November 2, 1868; Duff Green to Ben E. Green, June 11, 21, 24, 1868.

⁵¹ Green to Ben E. Green, October 24, 1868. Green says that Henry Braddock, a well educated Negro preacher of Baltimore, was taking the lead in organizing the Negro agencies.

⁵² *Prospectus of the American Industrial Agency* (New York, 1866), 5.

⁵³ *Plan for a Great Trunk Railway Line* (New York, 1868), 6-12; Green to John Tucker, December 18, 1873; Green to Ben E. Green, May 5, 1871, August 22, 1873, April 14, 1874; R. K. Ford to Green, October 18, 1871; Certificate of Organization of the Dalton and Southwestern Railroad, April 12, 1872.

Southern Trans-Oceanic and International Air Line Railroad. They petitioned Congress and secured the promise of land-grant aid, they obtained the support of capitalists, and were ready to begin the surveys of the route when the failure of Jay Cooke and Company brought an end to their program. The route of the road would have been from Austin, Texas, to the Bay of Topolobampo in the Gulf of California.⁵⁴

While most of Green's industrial enterprises failed of their ultimate goal during his own lifetime, he must nevertheless be given credit for his wisdom and foresight. His mining interests especially were forerunners of present-day developments and today a railroad follows almost every line in which Green was interested. His program for economic solidarity in the South bears a striking parallel to that of Count Cavour in the Italian states of the 1850's. A prophet of better things, a pioneer industrial builder, and a promoter without a superior was Duff Green. But as the *Philadelphia Times* said of him, "Like all great men he was a visionary, or, rather in advance of his times."

⁵⁴ *The Austin-Topolobampo Railroad Route* (n.p., n.d.), 1; Albert K. Owen, *The Great Southern Trans-Oceanic and International Air Line* (Philadelphia, 1873), 3, 4; Agreement of Duff Green and Albert K. Owen, August 2, 1873; *Minneapolis Tribune*, April 13, 1884.

Property Rights In the Provincial System of Maryland: Proprietary Policy¹

By CHARLES A. BARKER

Maryland in the eighteenth century significantly illustrates the transfer to America of certain political and social usages characteristic of Great Britain in the same period. In the mother country the occupation of high political office denoted wealth and social privilege, and in miniature the same was true in Maryland. After the administration of the province had been returned, in 1715, from the control of the crown to the control of the lord proprietor, the Maryland system came, with greater and greater definiteness, to comprise something more and other than a mechanism for government and land administration. To the inner circle of those in power, the system became more and more a valued set of financial privileges, a thing to be valued for itself and to be guarded by the full protection of the authority of the lord proprietor.

The inner circle of the powerful was composed of the lord proprietor and his provincial secretary in England and of the lieutenant governor and the five or six high officials closely associated with him in Maryland. This group, with the hundred or more lesser officials dependent on it, may conveniently be designated as the proprietary element in the Maryland system. Its members received as their own such great and special benefits as the revenue flowing from the land system, the yield from a number of permanent customs duties, and the income from the fees, commissions, allowances, and perquisites of high

¹ A companion study, subtitled "Proprietary Revenues," will appear in the May, 1936, number of the *Journal*.

office. Such privileges inevitably created in the provincial system an interest apart from the normal functions of governing the people and administering the land. They made the system a vested interest and a bulwark for the politically great. And, since a reaction was inevitable where there was a legislature with an elected house, they also made it the object of attack from those who envied and were denied the privileges of office.

Incomparably the greatest beneficiary of the Maryland system was the lord proprietor himself. Unfortunately for the people of the province, they had no voice in determining what individuals should occupy that high place.² The personal characters of the fifth and sixth Lords Baltimore, whose proprietorships spanned the two generations between the restoration of proprietary government in 1715 and the very eve of the American Revolution, were such as to make inevitable for Maryland the type of administrative and financial policy, designed to extract the greatest immediate financial gains, which is natural to absentee landlords and governors everywhere. The lords proprietor were known for their sins in living and loving and their extravagance in travel and amusement. Their intellectualism, for which they were somewhat distinguished, was dilettante. Their virtues included no such industry and ability as a Lord Shelburne would have exercised, to study Maryland, to understand the conflict of provincial interests, and to make concessions.

All their Maryland papers—the instructions to the governors, receivers general, and other officials, and the correspondence with many

² The eighteenth century proprietors were: Benedict Leonard Calvert (1715), Charles Calvert (1715-1751), Frederick Calvert (1751-1771), and Henry Harford (1771-1776). The Calverts were, respectively, the fourth, the fifth, and the sixth and last Lord Baltimore; and Harford was the illegitimate son and heir but not the inheritor of the title of Frederick Calvert. Much information about the lords proprietor is contained in the MS. notes of the late Charles Weathers Bump, editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, now deposited in the vaults of the Maryland Historical Society. Mr. Bump collected many materials in England, but never wrote them into a book. For biographical sketches, see: John G. Morris, *The Lords Baltimore* (Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publications* [Baltimore], no. 8 [1874]), 44-59; Clayton C. Hall, *The Lords Baltimore and the Maryland Palatinate* (Baltimore, 1902), 142-44, 162-67; *Dictionary of National Biography*, VIII (New York, 1886), 268.

officeholders in the province—reveal a dominant interest and idea, namely, the protection always and the enlargement when possible of the special privileges of the proprietary element. The idea is well-illustrated in two instructions, one or the other of which was in force for the three decades before the Revolution. In 1743 Charles, Lord Baltimore, in additional instructions—the most formal instruments for such a purpose at his command—ordered Governor Thomas Bladen to disallow any act offered by the lower house which reduced the “just fees and perquisites of officers” or the necessary expenses of government. In 1751 the governor who succeeded Bladen had the same instructions entered in the proceedings of the provincial council as still binding, and two years later, Frederick, Lord Baltimore, gave new orders to Governor Horatio Sharpe with exactly the same purpose.⁸ These instructions were sufficient to guarantee to the proprietary element its vested interests in the fees of office and the revenues from customs duties, no matter how vigorously or with what economic justice they might be attacked by the legislature. Another indication of the proprietor’s interest is to be found in a letter from Frederick, Lord Baltimore, to Governor Sharpe, in which he ordered the annual payment of £100 from the land office to a Mr. John Wogan of Middle Temple, because “he is a gentleman for whom I have a very great regard [and] ’tis a great happiness to men of power here in England that they can always oblige their personal acquaintances, whereas the great distance of Maryland from this part of the world confines the gift of places to a very few persons.”⁹ The natural interest of the lords proprietor of the eighteenth century was proprietary and conservative, and, although administrative arrangements were from time to time revised, their policy was at all times consistent with such an interest.

⁸ Instructions, Charles, Lord Baltimore, to Thomas Bladen, March 26, 1743, in Council Proceedings, March 14, 1751, *Archives of Maryland*, XXVIII, 502-503; instructions, Frederick, Lord Baltimore, to Horatio Sharpe, March 30, 1753, MS. in Portfolio no. 2, Maryland Historical Society. On January 30, 1730, Charles, Lord Baltimore, ordered Governor B. L. Calvert to allow no act to pass reducing the incomes of the clergy of the established church (*Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 520).

⁹ Baltimore to Sharpe, December 3, 1754, *ibid.*, VI, 127.

The present paper attempts to show the actual working out of the financial and administrative program of the proprietors from the end of the period of royal government until the Revolution. A second paper to follow will endeavor to give meaning to administrative policy by describing in actual sterling value the privileges of the proprietary element. Such a valuation will also suggest a cause for the discontent—so strikingly revealed in the political turmoil of the years from 1770 to 1774⁵—which prevailed in the legislature and among the people against the proprietary system. Administration is the nexus between the governing and the governed, and here as so often its history is the clue to events and conditions of greater than administrative importance.

The interval of royal government in Maryland came to an end in 1715, but it was not until 1733 that successful and permanent arrangements were made for the collection of Lord Baltimore's revenue and for precisely establishing the fees of the officeholders. On both sides of the Atlantic there were causes for delay. In England, Charles, Lord Baltimore, succeeded to the proprietorship in 1715 while still a minor; his affairs had to be managed for a few years by guardians; and any significant decisions seem to have awaited his own control and to have depended on his initiative. And in Maryland, the quarter century of crown government, just ended, had, by giving the lower house of assembly a new degree of authority and an increased sense of its own importance, injected an element of uncertainty into any plans of the executive at all subject to interference by the legislature. Further, by about 1725 the increasing need, due to serious depression in the tobacco trade, of enacting laws for limiting the quantity or improving the quality of Maryland tobacco exported and for an emission of paper money, became so compelling as to give the lower house a powerful leverage in legislative bargaining with the lord proprietor and the governor and council. The readiness of the lower house to enter into political contest with the proprietary element, and its persistence when

⁵ See Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science [Baltimore], XVI [1898], nos. 7-9).

the contest was once begun, are amply illustrated in the famous controversy, which began in 1722 and lasted ten years, over the applicability of English statute law in Maryland. Doctrine as purely Whig as that of John Locke himself was consistently used as a basis for argument with Lord Baltimore.⁶

With a point of view which was determined by the political troubles of Maryland, Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert in October, 1729, wrote a twenty-three page letter to Lord Baltimore, his brother. In it he described and explained what the financial stakes of the proprietary element were, and, with due reference to the trend of the tobacco trade, what their condition.⁷ As this letter seems to represent the first systematic consideration of finances and financial policy as a whole, and as important decisions were soon to be made with evident reference to its recommendations, it must be considered as an important milepost in provincial history.

According to Governor Calvert, the most important question was that of quitrents, and with this judgment there is no ground for disagreement. Since 1671 no quitrents as such had been paid, but under an act of that year the lord proprietor had been granted an equivalent for quitrents in the form of a twelve pence per hogshead duty on tobacco exported; and he had been remitted the returns from this duty as fully during the period of crown government as when he himself had control.⁸ With the succession of Charles, Lord Baltimore, the act of 1671 expired, and, in 1717, a new equivalent act was passed, this

⁶ The most extended study of the controversy is St. George L. Sioussat, *The English Statutes in Maryland* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, XXI [1903], nos. 11-12), in an appendix to which is reprinted the able pamphlet by Daniel Dulany, the elder, *The Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland to the Benefit of the English Laws* (Annapolis, 1728). This pamphlet represents the ideas of the lower house as justly as its own journal, for Dulany was at the time the great leader of the delegates.

⁷ Calvert to Baltimore, October 26, 1729, printed in both the *Calvert Papers*, II (Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publications*, no. 34 [1894]), 68-81, and the *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 601-10.

⁸ In certain cases some few quitrents continued to be paid while the equivalent law was in operation. The duty was to compensate for alienation fines as well as quitrents. On quitrents at this period see Beverly W. Bond, *The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies* (New Haven, 1919), 179 ff.

time granting two shillings instead of one; but the new law was a temporary one and depended on the assembly for renewal every few years. For the next fifteen years the issue was a storm center in provincial politics, but the equivalent was continued by re-enactments until 1733, when the lower house rejected it, never to pass it again.⁹ The question of renewal or rejection was one which seriously troubled Governor Calvert in 1729, for, while observing that the "people grow jealous" of the equivalent, he felt that for the good of both the proprietor and people it should be continued. Estimating the quitrents to be worth a maximum of six thousand pounds sterling, gross, but as likely to yield far less than that, net, he seems to have thought that Lord Baltimore would neither gain nor lose much, financially, whichever the decision. He argued, however, that the duty was much easier for the proprietor to collect than the quitrents, and that it was less burdensome for the planter, whose economic position he thought extremely harassed, to pay.¹⁰ The governor was greatly worried to have such extensive property rights in some degree under the control of the assembly.

His second concern, also a grave one, was for the fate of another tobacco duty, of fifteen pence per hogshead, the income of which was largely assigned to the payment of the governor's salary, and on which he was therefore peculiarly dependent. He called Lord Baltimore's attention to the fact that the present duty had been incorporated in the same temporary law of 1717 as renewed the quitrent equivalent, and that it took the place, although it was not a continuation, of a long term twelve pence per hogshead duty passed in 1671, along with the first quitrent equivalent.¹¹ Both of the 1717 duties, with such favorably increased rates to the lord proprietor, represented Lord Baltimore's strong political bargaining power when he had quitrents to exchange with a lower house which preferred the equivalent system.¹² But now

⁹ *Ibid.*, 181-86; Clarence P. Gould, *The Land System in Maryland, 1720-1765* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, XXXI [1913], no. 1), 33-41.

¹⁰ Calvert to Baltimore, October 26, 1729, *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 604-605.

¹¹ Calvert to Baltimore, October 26, 1729, *ibid.*, 605; Bond, *The Quit-Rent System*, 179.

¹² The stated reason for the advance in the government duty was the increase in the size of tobacco hogsheads, a change which reduced the number exported.

that the delegates had changed their minds, and were ready to let the equivalent expire and to have the quitrents resumed, the governor saw ground for fearing that there would be no renewal of the temporary law which provided his salary.

The people [he complained] are but too sensibly apprized, that [the support of the government] is in their own free choice, to the which you cannot oblige them. And surely it is the greatest advantage that can be had over a government, and things can never go well in the plantations, whilst the planters are so generally proud, petulant, and ignorant, and have the common necessary support of government so much under their thumb. The superiority, as I may term it, of the people over the government, seems unnatural, and is, I am sure, repugnant to the very ends for which government was instituted, viz., an authoritative influence for the good order of society.¹³

After a careful examination of the history of the duty, however, the governor raised the question, hopeful to his interest, whether or not there might not be statutory grounds for continuing to collect twelve pence per hogshead for the support of the government even after the expiration of the present fifteen pence law. He pointed out that unlike the original quitrent equivalent, the government duty, although appropriated for an equally long period, had not been assigned to the proprietor during the period of crown government. At first temporarily in 1692 and then permanently in 1704, the assembly had diverted from the proprietor to the queen the shilling per hogshead for the support of the government. Since the duty of 1704 was passed without limitation as to time, and since the act of 1717 was temporary and therefore effective as a repeal of and substitute for the 1704 duty only for the period of its own life, Governor Calvert hopefully pressed the question whether or not, in the event of failure to renew the duty of 1717,

any and what use may be made in your [Lordship's] favor of that act of 1704, settling one shilling on the Queen, her heirs, and successors, for the support of her government for the time being in this province. Whether by the devolution of government to you, with other rights and adjuncts of government, that one shilling may in any legal sense be deemed to have devolved on you, or be invested in you and for the same purposes.¹⁴

¹³ Calvert to Baltimore, October 26, 1729, *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 605.

¹⁴ Calvert to Baltimore, October 26, 1729, *ibid.*, 607.

In view of what followed, namely, that after 1733 the lords proprietor always collected the shilling duty on the basis of the 1704 act, that they did so in face of repeated charges by the lower house that they had no right to the duty, and that they defended themselves with extensive legal arguments,¹⁵ the uncertainty and fears of Governor Calvert in 1729 are especially interesting.

The third question affecting the interests of the proprietary element which was open in 1729 was, in the words of the governor, that of "the settlement and rights of the several offices of government." Officials in Maryland were largely paid in fees, and the amount of those fees and the efficacy with which they were collected concerned not only the officials themselves but also and almost equally Lord Baltimore himself. The appointments were his to make, and without value they would attract and retain few able and independent men in his service. In 1729 the situation was as confused as possible, for Lord Baltimore had recently disallowed an act of 1725 reducing fees, and though by so doing he had prevented a reduction in the value of the offices he had also removed the statutory basis for collecting any fees at all, since the previous law, that of 1719, had expired. Lacking the law, Governor Calvert reported, "the officers are without execution for their fees. . . . Every insolent fellow thinks himself free to refuse payment, and brow-beat, as it were, the officers. And [it] is besides a continual bone of contention, and a specious handle to amuse the ignorant."¹⁶ Without a reduction of the old rates a new law validating the fees would be almost impossible to obtain, the governor feared, and a reduction, if allowed, would surely lead to others until the provincial officials would ultimately find themselves paid at the level of common writing clerks. But in this case as in that of the government duty, Governor Calvert conceived a plan which would release the proprietary element from

¹⁵ For a brief review of the history of the 1704 duty, see Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1901), 344-47. The charges of the lower house and the replies of the council are in the journals of the houses. The fullest statement of the defense was the pamphlet by Daniel Dulany, *The Right to the Tonnage, the Duty of Twelve Pence per Hogshead on all exported Tobacco, and the Fines and Forfeitures in the Province of Maryland* . . . (Annapolis, 1766).

¹⁶ Calvert to Baltimore, October 26, 1729, *Archives of Maryland*, XXV, 607.

dependence on an act of the assembly. Observing that in the past fee laws had all been acts for the limitation of pre-existing fees—never for the creation or granting of new fees—he ventured the opinion that fees were due “by original right without an establishment by law,” and so could be established anew by mere prerogative action. But such was not the common understanding in Maryland, and Governor Calvert, who had been instructed that fees should be collected according to the rates of the act of 1719, lacked the authority or the courage to act on his idea. In writing to Lord Baltimore he merely asked the question whether or not such power as he suggested could be exercised by proprietary authority alone, and said that for the present he could do little.¹⁷ He made it clear, however, that an arrangement ultimately satisfactory to the proprietary element would depend on independent action.

Altogether then, in 1729, a full decade after having taken the control of Maryland from his guardians, the property interests of Lord Baltimore in his province were in an uncertain if not a perilous condition. On what terms would his right to quitrents be converted into actual money? Would the unquestioned right of the officials to fees be realized in such a way as to promote the dignity and independence of the provincial administration, or would it be demoralized, or made dependent on the legislature? Would the governor continue to receive a salary paid from a permanent duty, or would he have to wait for appropriations by the assembly? All these questions were open, and open at a time when the tobacco trade was seriously depressed, when tobacco legislation, which, because it affected the value of the tobacco currency, gave opportunity and reason for new fee legislation, was pending, and when the lower house of assembly, “as hot as possible about the English statutes and judges’ oath [controversy]” and well indoctrinated with the Whiggish ideas of Daniel Dulany, the elder, “certainly entertained strange and unreasonable jealousies and prejudices against your Lordship’s govern-

¹⁷ Calvert to Baltimore, October 26, 1729, *ibid.*, 607-608. On the fee issue see Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, 373-400, and Herbert L. Osgood, *American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1924), III, 22-25.

ment."¹⁸ The letters from Maryland telling Lord Baltimore of these difficulties were anxious to a degree, and doubtless led him to take the steps he did to put the provincial house in order.

In December, 1732, Lord Baltimore came to Maryland for a six months' visit, the only visit in the eighteenth century by a lord proprietor to the province. He came at a time when the boundary dispute with the Penns was at an acute stage, and partly for that very reason; but he gave a great deal of attention to the financial problems of his establishment. As to quitrents, he made no effort to secure, as Governor Calvert had suggested, the passage through the legislature of a new tobacco duty equivalent, but he launched a program for the normal collection of quitrents from the freeholders, as before 1671. He issued one proclamation offering exemption from the payment of purchase money and freedom from quitrents for three years to the takers of new grants in the vacant back country, where the Germans were just beginning to appear, and a second proclamation increasing from four to ten shillings the normal rates of quitrents on new grants in the settled areas;¹⁹ and he gave a series of instructions to the officials assigned to the renewed tasks of keeping the records and collecting the revenues from land.²⁰

As to the governor's salary and the officers' fees, the lord proprietor acted exactly in line with the suggestions of Governor Calvert. At a council meeting held toward the close of the visit, with Lord Baltimore himself presiding, it was ordered that the twelve pence per hogshead duty act, passed in 1704 "for settlement of an annual revenue upon her Majesty's governor," be recorded in the council proceedings, and be separately printed, and that copies be sent to the naval officers, who would collect the duty, to be "affixed" in their offices; and it was further ordered that the law be bound up with the laws of the current session of the legislature and sent with

¹⁸ Governor Samuel Ogle to Lord Baltimore, January 10, 1731, *Calvert Papers*, II, 82.

¹⁹ Proceedings of the Council, March 2, June 17, 1733, *Archives of Maryland*, XXVIII, 25-26, 45-46.

²⁰ Calvert Papers, *ibid.*, XXXIX, 501-506; Bond, *The Quit-Rent System*, 179-89.

them to the several counties.²¹ Thus easily and as far as appears without question as to the fitness of the act, the question, so important in provincial history and so alarming to Governor Calvert, whether or not the governor should have a salary from a fixed source outside the control of the legislature, was settled, and to the full satisfaction of the proprietary interest. The parallel and related question, that of a settlement of the officers' fees, was managed with equal directness. When the legislature failed, now in Lord Baltimore's presence as it had before, to enact a satisfactory fee law,²² he issued the famous fee proclamation of 1733.²³ Expressed as though the sole purpose of the proprietor were to protect his people from extortionate charges, the proclamation fixed officers' fees at rates acceptable to the proprietary element and removed them from the sphere of assembly politics, at least until the lower house should offer a *quid pro quo* for a reduction in terms entirely satisfactory to the proprietary element. Events between 1733 and the Revolution were to prove—none more clearly than the hotly contested "fee struggle" of 1770²⁴—that the proclamation put the proprietary element in a perfect position of defense against a reduction in fee rates.

A guarantee of the privileges of the proprietary element was, indeed, the significant result of Lord Baltimore's visit to Maryland. Before his coming, questions of right were open and problems of administration and collection were unsolved. With his departure the serious matters were resolved, and all decisions had been made in favor of the independence of the proprietary element from interference by the legislature and, by the same token, in favor of its economic benefit.

The putting into actual execution of the decisions of 1733 formed the main business of the provincial administration until 1751,²⁵ the year of the death of Charles, Lord Baltimore. Because the collection

²¹ Council Proceedings, April 10, 1733, *Archives of Maryland*, XXVIII, 27-30.

²² Upper House Journal, March 24, 1733, *ibid.*, XXXIX, 13.

²³ Council Proceedings, April 14, 1733, *ibid.*, XXVIII, 31-43.

²⁴ See Steiner, *Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden*, chap. iv.

²⁵ There is a long and involved narrative of assembly relations from 1733 to 1751, and it will be discussed elsewhere. The war with Spain and France, creating the need

of the 1704 hogshead duty naturally fell to the naval officers, who collected all the provincial duties, and because the officers' fees, which were payable in tobacco, were collected as usual by the sheriffs along with the county and parish charges assessed in the annual local rates, no new administrative machinery had to be set up as a result of the decisions about the governor's salary and the officers' fees. But there was much work to be done before the collecting of the land revenues could be efficiently renewed. The collection of quitrents required clear titles, perfect records, and a capable and loyal personnel, and none of these conditions applied in 1733. Slowly, however, through a term of years, legal snarls as to title were straightened out, a decision to abandon the advanced quitrent rate in favor of the traditional four shillings per hundred acres was reached, exact payments for individual freeholders were fixed, and farmers and receivers of quitrents were put to work. The essential problem was the difficult one of adjusting a land system which was feudal in derivation and feudal in character to the actualities of a frontier community, and the details of this adjustment, which have been painstakingly worked out by Professors Gould and Bond,²⁶ need not detain us here. The striking thing, as Professor Bond demonstrates, is that a successful system of collecting quitrents was devised and put into effect at all. Under Lord Baltimore's instructions a body of minor officials—the rent-roll keepers and the receivers and farmers of the quitrents—was organized apart from the government proper and independent of any control by the legislature, and to

for military appropriations, and war conditions, which deepened the depression in the tobacco trade and increased the necessity for a tobacco inspection law, which in turn threatened the value of officers' fees and clergy livings, opened every sort of constitutional controversy between the representative and proprietary elements. But the fact that such controversy always turned on proprietary privileges justifies the statement above, and makes unnecessary the development of assembly history in this place. The best narrative account is still to be found in John V. L. McMahon, *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland, from its Colonization to the present day* (Baltimore, 1831), 284-90. See also St. George L. Sioussat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland, 1720-1750, and the Public Services of Daniel Dulany the Elder* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, XXI [1903], nos. 6-7).

²⁶ Gould, *The Land System in Maryland*, and Bond, *The Quit-Rent System*, 188-90. All writers on land questions of this period owe much to John Kilty, *The Land-Holders Assistant and Land Office Guide* (Baltimore, 1808).

this body were assigned the exclusive duties of perfecting the records and receiving the quitrents. Responsibility was assured by placing the governor, with appointive and supervisory powers, over the officials. Altogether, Lord Baltimore developed the most effective quitrent system in America.²⁷ As it preserved the features of an ancient form of land tenure, and as it was administered to the great gain of the lord proprietor,²⁸ the system stands as a kind of emblem of the conservatism and property consciousness of Charles, Lord Baltimore, and his advisers.

The succession of his son, Frederick, the sixth and last Lord Baltimore, marks a period in the history of the proprietary element.²⁹ What is new and different after 1751 arises, for the most part, from the work of two conscientious provincial officers, Cecilius Calvert, the uncle of Lord Baltimore, who declined the governorship in order to become, in the capacity of provincial secretary resident in England,³⁰ the proprietor's manager of Maryland affairs, and Horatio Sharpe, governor through a long and troubled administration, from 1753 to 1769. During the preceding proprietorship the provincial secretary does not seem, in the persons of William Jannsen and James Browning, to have exercised a commanding influence. The supervision of Charles, Lord Baltimore, as evidenced by his visit to Maryland, his habit of interlining and making marginal comments in the letters from the province,

²⁷ Bond, *The Quit-Rent System*, 188, 190.

²⁸ Although the offer was made several times, the proprietary element never seriously considered passing a new equivalent duty. Whereas before 1730 the two shilling duty, for a period of seven years, averaged £2855 annually, after 1733 the renewed quitrent system yielded much more. See figures in a companion study by the writer to be published in the May, 1936, number of the *Journal*, and those in Bond, *The Quit-Rent System*, 187-88.

²⁹ The materials for the proprietorship of Frederick, Lord Baltimore, are much more complete than earlier. The great source is the *Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, 1753-1771*, printed in the *Archives of Maryland*, VI, IX, XIV, and supplemented by *Letters to Governor Horatio Sharpe, 1754-1765*, in *ibid.*, XXXI, 471-572. This correspondence will be cited below simply by reference to the letter and the proper place in the *Archives of Maryland*. The other sources, manuscript and printed, are given in the citations.

³⁰ The ordinary duties of the secretary in the province were performed by the deputy secretary.

and by his letters and instructions, seems to have been personal, though perhaps disconnected. Now, however, after 1751, the provincial secretary, in the person of Cecilius Calvert, emerges as an *alter ego* for the proprietor and as a great busybody as well. Calvert's insistence, in accordance with early instructions from Lord Baltimore to Sharpe,³¹ led to a voluminous correspondence between the governor, who was painstaking and thorough to a degree, and the secretary. The mass of this correspondence, which was filled with details about every sort of provincial matter, and which in the case of letters from the secretary was often equivalent in purpose and importance to the more formal instructions to the governor, indicates that under the authority of the last Lord Baltimore and through the industry of his officials the reins of provincial control were very much tightened in England.³² And yet one searches the record in vain for a single development in proprietary policy as significant as the decisions of 1733. The official correspondence of Lord Baltimore and his secretaries with Governor Sharpe reveals, between 1753 and 1769, two main features in proprietary policy: first, that the proprietary element aimed to preserve the interpretation of its privileges declared in 1733 and to extend it where possible; and, second, that the proprietary element did so through a more detailed supervision from England and a more carefully planned administration in Maryland than had ever before been attempted.

These two features of proprietary policy appear on the financial side in the conservatism and the detailed performance ordered by Lord Baltimore in instructions sent, at the very opening of Sharpe's administration, to the governor and the agent or receiver general.³³ Governor

³¹ Instructions, Baltimore to Sharpe, March 30, 1753, MS. in Portfolio no. 2, Maryland Historical Society.

³² Governor Sharpe wrote, on an average, nearly one letter a month to the secretary, and eight a year to Lord Baltimore. Nearly all his letters were equal to elaborate reports. He received from Lord Baltimore about one letter a year, and from the secretary, about five.

³³ The general and additional instructions on which this and the following paragraphs are based are as follows: Baltimore to Sharpe, March 17, 1753, *Archives of Maryland*, XXX, 8-14, and March 17 and 30, 1753, MSS. in Calvert Papers, no. 1147, and Portfolio no. 2, Maryland Historical Society; and Baltimore to Edward Lloyd, March 30, 1753, copy given to Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, as his own instructions, October 14, 1766, MS. in Portfolio no. 3, Maryland Historical Society.

Sharpe was ordered, as his predecessors had been, to permit no reduction of officers' fees by act of the legislature,⁸⁴ and to allow no act touching the proprietor's revenues to pass without the proprietor's own consent. He was ordered to require that the money paid for ordinary-keepers' and innkeepers' licenses be credited, as before King George's War but not since, to the proprietor's private account, and that any who operated ferries without having paid the twenty shilling license fee, which had not been paid since 1734 or 1735 but which the agent was now instructed to collect,⁸⁵ should be prosecuted by the agent and the attorney general. The governor and agent were equally ordered to see to it that the administration of the land office was raised to the highest level of efficiency, and each was required to effect the improvement of various details of financial administration. The governor, who enjoyed the privilege of appointing the naval officers, was ordered to name only "fit" persons, such as would administer the office in person or might, under special circumstances, be permitted to name a deputy. The agent was required to give the naval officers strict directions about the performance of their chief obligation, the collection of the provincial tobacco and tonnage duties, the returns from which they transferred to him, and to be rigid about taking security from them for the exact and full performance of duty. The agent was further required to submit to Lord Baltimore, along with and in addition to the usual yearly "accounts current," which summarized receipts, expenditures in Maryland, and transfers to England of the proprietor's revenues, full statements about each source of income. The lord proprietor was to have, for example, detailed accounts of each type of land revenue and of the provincial duties paid in every port. All remittances to Lord Baltimore were to be made in bills of exchange payable in sterling in London and not elsewhere, or in foreign gold at its exchange value.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ An exception was made permitting fee regulation on a *permanent* basis by any statute approved by the council.

⁸⁵ Sharpe to Calvert, May 5, 1756, *Archives of Maryland*, VI, 408.

⁸⁶ This was an old requirement, but one the breach of which had led to some delay in collection by Lord Baltimore. Calvert to Benjamin Tasker, July 9, 1752, *Calvert Papers*, II, 150-51.

With respect to the land system, the source of his largest revenues, Lord Baltimore's early instructions to the governor and agent were full and, in some cases, of far reaching administrative importance. Two of his orders contemplated the collection of revenues which were not being collected at the time of his succession. He at first required, as his father had done for the years between 1733 and 1737, that the rate of quit-rents be advanced from four to ten shillings per hundred acres; but under the conditions of the French and Indian War he abandoned the order, as the event proved, permanently.³⁷ He also ordered that alienation fines, which had come largely to be disregarded, be paid in full; but the plan proved, as the highest officials in the province indicated, to be economically and administratively impossible.³⁸ Lord Baltimore's other instructions, which required not an extension of financial privileges but simply a more effective administration of land revenues long since collected, were more successful. There were a number of instructions of this kind: that all arrears of rents, fines, and penalties be paid; that exact methods of accounting be used; that the governor require the completion and perfection of the rent-rolls, which had been ordered years before by Charles, Lord Baltimore; that each surveyor make plots of the proprietor's manors in his county, keep one, and send duplicates

³⁷ The order to raise quitrents was inserted in the instructions of March 17 and 30, 1753, but was countermanded within nine months by an instruction (Baltimore to Sharpe, January 5, 1754, MS. in Black Books, XI, Maryland Historical Society) which ordered the governor and agent and their advisers to fix whatever rate, not lower than four shillings and as much higher as possible, could be collected. The officials in Maryland successfully opposed raising the rents (see letters, Sharpe to Calvert, February 10, 1754, *Archives of Maryland*, VI, 37, and Daniel Dulany to Calvert, September 10, 1764, *Calvert Papers*, II, 241-42, and a memorandum, of about March 15, 1762, by Governor Sharpe, Receiver General Lloyd, and Judges of the Land Office Benedict Calvert and George Steuart, MS. in Calvert Papers, no. 1162, Maryland Historical Society), but, despite the listing of good economic reasons, seem never fully to have convinced those in England that the step would be a wrong one (Sharpe to Secretary H. Hamersley, March, 1767, and Hamersley to Sharpe, July 20, 1767, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 381, 405). See Bond, *The Quit-Rent System*, 198-99; Gould, *The Land System in Maryland*, 10-12; and Paul H. Giddens, "Land Policies and Administration in Colonial Maryland, 1753-1769," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVIII (1933), 148-50.

³⁸ Sharpe to Calvert, April 19, 1761, *Archives of Maryland*, IX, 503-506; Dulany to Calvert, September 10, 1764, *Calvert Papers*, II, 234-39; Gould, *The Land System in Maryland*, 32.

to the agent and proprietor; and that he report any squatters who had settled without right. With an apparent purpose to deprive private speculators of great gain and to reserve for Lord Baltimore the profits of the growth of population and settlement in the province, the instructions forbade the granting of more than one thousand acres in any settled area to members of a single family, and further required the erection of new manors, leases on which brought rents at a higher rate than quitrents, in the name of the lord proprietor.

The most important instructions affecting the administration of the land revenues carried one step further the principle of centralized control of the quitrent system, which Charles, Lord Baltimore, had determined upon in 1733. A number of mutual duties were assigned by Lord Baltimore to the governor, the agent, the judges of the land office, and the deputy secretary, which gave them the function and authority, although not the name, of a special board for the revenues from land. They were ordered to advise together—or, in case they could not all meet, the governor and agent were granted full competence—about certain specified matters central to the administration of the proprietor's land revenues. Their particular tasks were: first, to determine upon what could be done to reduce the cost of collecting quitrents, whether by cutting down the twenty per cent commission paid the farmers or by appointing receivers; second, to direct the survey of sites for new proprietary manors; third, to decide upon proper and easy terms for granting the Western lands to new settlers; and, fourth, to exercise a limited discretion in determining quitrent and purchase money rates. The instructions do not give precise status to the group of officials named. The purpose seems to have been to secure the most expert and responsible advice on the administration of the land system for the sake of making it as profitable as possible to Lord Baltimore. Doubtless the governor's opinion was expected to prevail in the decisions of the group, but it may be assumed that in the event of serious disagreement the proprietor desired to have the matter referred to him for decision. Whatever the intention, the instructions did establish a kind of financial board within the provincial council, and the creation of such a board

concentrated the attention and efforts of the great officials on the question of the lord proprietor's income from the province. This arrangement of 1753 anticipates, at the very outset of his proprietorship, the board of revenue which Lord Baltimore formally constituted fifteen years later, for much the same purpose.

When the officials named in the instructions came to consider the problems assigned them there was little that they could do. Quitrents could not be raised, new manor sites were lacking for the reason that all the very good tracts had been occupied, and in time of war the western part of the province was so upset that no new and advantageous terms of settlement could be fixed. Towards the end of the French and Indian War Sharpe was able to report that he had ordered a manor established in the only desirable place where there was a large area unbroken by earlier grants, and that was on the very western frontier of the province, beyond Fort Cumberland.⁸⁹ In general, the disposal of new lands had largely passed from the hands of the proprietor into the hands of settlers and speculators.

As to reducing the cost of collecting quitrents, Governor Sharpe made a vigorous effort to follow the requirements of his instructions, and met with some success. His first plan, carried into effect shortly after his arrival in Maryland, simply to reduce the commissions of the farmers from twenty to fifteen per cent, he had to abandon under pressure from Lord Baltimore, who proposed that the sheriffs act as collectors, at ten per cent. This proposal, however, failed, because some of the sheriffs, who as a class were large landholders and sometimes members of the lower house, preferred resigning their offices to collecting, especially on so low a commission. Finally, at the governor's suggestion, most of the collecting was assigned at ten per cent to collectors not connected with the government, who were each made re-

⁸⁹ Sharpe to Calvert, May 4, July 7, 1760, *Archives of Maryland*, IX, 402, 434. Probably the site referred to lay west of the proclamation line of 1763. About this manor, and the impossibility of erecting others, see Sharpe to Hamersley, March, 1767, and April, 1768, and Sharpe to Baltimore, March 31, 1768, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 380, 478-79, 485.

sponsible for several counties, and so could afford the decreased rate.⁴⁰

Governor Sharpe's administration was not three years old when it appeared, especially to Secretary Calvert in England, that an initial error had been made in the appointment of Edward Lloyd as receiver general. Secretary Calvert himself had arranged the appointment at the time when Governor Sharpe had been sent to the province, and had done so in the belief that his lordship's revenues would be placed in safer and more efficient hands than those of President of the Council Tasker, who had been receiver general.⁴¹ But Lloyd, as the possessor of more than thirty-five thousand acres on the Eastern Shore and one of the greatest landholders in Maryland,⁴² as a member of an established family which had for three quarters of a century had members in both houses of assembly, and as a resident at Wye House across Chesapeake Bay from the seat of government at Annapolis, was neither dependent enough on the favor of the "court" nor convenient enough to the other officials to render the heedful service which Calvert wanted. By 1756 Calvert knew that Lloyd's office was in confusion, and wrote him, as he had Tasker, asking him to set his accounts straight and to collect as effectively as he could;⁴³ but the warning failed to bring an improvement.

⁴⁰ Many letters in the Sharpe correspondence refer to the collection of quitrents, but the following are especially important: Sharpe to Calvert, May 3, 1754, October 20, 1755, May 5, 1756, and Sharpe to Baltimore, October 22, 1755, August 15, 1765, and March, 1767, *ibid.*, VI, 60, 295, 299, 409; XIV, 214-15, 375-76. See Bond, *The Quit-Rent System*, 200-201, and Giddens, "Land Policies and Administration in Colonial Maryland," *loc. cit.*, 150-51. On questions of financial administration there was a natural division of opinion between the lord proprietor in England and his officials in Maryland. Lord Baltimore and his secretary, away from the scene of action, always counseled perfection: complete and exact accounts, resurveys, the collection of every penny due. Governor Sharpe and his associates pointed out in reply that there was a point of diminishing returns where demanding the most from the landholder, especially in cases of uncertain boundaries, did not pay. For the difficulties in administration, see Sharpe to Calvert, July 30, 1757, and Sharpe to Baltimore, August 15, 1765, *Archives of Maryland*, IX, 61-63; XIV, 214; Bond, *The Quit-Rent System*, 203-207.

⁴¹ Calvert to Lloyd, July 9, 1752, Calvert Papers, MS. no. 1147, Maryland Historical Society.

⁴² Debt Books, MSS. in Land Commissioner's Office, Annapolis; Gould, *The Land System in Maryland*, 82.

⁴³ Calvert to Lloyd, March 9, 1756, Calvert Papers, MS. no. 1181, Maryland Historical Society.

Five years later, after war conditions had passed in Maryland, and after receiving a great deal of advice about Lloyd from Governor Sharpe, Lord Baltimore made a serious effort to put life and order into the work of the receiver general. In new instructions, which closely followed recommendations made by the governor,⁴⁴ he ordered the agent to have a permanent office built in Annapolis, and have it equipped for the housing and proper filing of leases, rent-rolls, debt books, naval officers' accounts, and the bonds given by the collectors and farmers of the quitrents. He ordered especial care in the administration of the manors, which had fallen into serious confusion, and that the plats, which had been ordered in 1753, be made and kept with the manorial rent-rolls. Most important of all, the receiver general was required for the future to present the annual account of Lord Baltimore's revenues to the great provincial officials, namely, the governor, the deputy secretary, the commissary general, the land office judges, and the attorney general, or any three of them, for auditing. As these were the same officials, with the addition of the attorney general, as those designated in the instructions of 1753, for certain collective duties respecting the land revenues only, the new instructions represent a widened application of the policy of concentrating the attention of the highest and most responsible officials on the personal revenues of the lord proprietor. Even after these instructions, however, Lloyd continued delinquent and slow in the performance of his duties, much to the dissatisfaction of Governor Sharpe, who reported in full to Lord Baltimore and Secretary Calvert.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Instructions, Baltimore to Lloyd, October 8, 1761, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXII, 391-95. For Sharpe's ideas and suggestions, see, especially, Sharpe to Baltimore, May 23, 1760, April 20, June 23, 1761, *ibid.*, IX, 403-15, 508-509, 524. An instruction (Baltimore to Sharpe, December 20, 1760, MS. in Portfolio no. 3, Maryland Historical Society) shows that a year earlier than the orders to Lloyd the proprietor had adopted Sharpe's main ideas. See also Giddens, "Land Policies and Administration in Colonial Maryland," *loc. cit.*, 167-69; Bond, *The Quit-Rent System*, 203; and Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, 66-67.

⁴⁵ Mereness (*Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, 66) is of the opinion that fear of offending so influential a man as Lloyd explains Lord Baltimore's retaining him in office. This is a natural interpretation, to which the fact that provincial politics were bitterly anti-proprietary at the time adds support. For details on Lloyd's failure under the instruc-

Impatience with the receiver general probably influenced the lord proprietor in reaching the decision, for which there were also strong financial reasons, to sell his manor lands. In September, 1764, Deputy Secretary Daniel Dulany advised Calvert in a long and convincing letter that lessors in Maryland had trouble enough finding tenants for their manors, and that when they did they suffered from the destruction of timber. His conclusion was that it was impossible "to get an annual rent equal to half the interest which would arise from the money for which the land would sell," and that the difficulties were doubly great for Lord Baltimore, because he "suffers more from the abuses of waste . . . than other gentlemen upon the spot generally do."⁴⁶ Shortly after the receipt of this letter, Lord Baltimore sent joint instructions to the governor, the deputy secretary, the agent, the judges of the land office, and the attorney general—the same officials, except that the commissary general was excluded and the agent included, as those nominated to audit the agent's accounts—, ordering them to sell about 28,500 acres of manor lands. He fixed the selling price at £50 per hundred acres, or ten times the rate of caution money for lands in unsettled areas, and specified that alienation of the land should carry a fine equal to the quitrent for one year, and that as the land was disposed of and became freehold every care should be taken to perfect the records and to collect the charges.⁴⁷ The event proved that the commissioners could not carry out these instructions, which had been written with too little knowledge of the actual conditions of tenure of

tions see: Sharpe to Calvert, September 27, 1763, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 117-18, about housing the records; Sharpe to Baltimore, August 15, 1765, *ibid.*, 213-16, about the rent-rolls; and Sharpe to Hamersley, March, 1767, *ibid.*, XIV, 382-83, about the leases.

⁴⁶ Dulany to Calvert, September 10, 1764, *Calvert Papers*, II, 242-43. Dulany, as inheritor of large landed interests in the West, was hardly a disinterested advisor, and his argument omitted reference to possible gains through the increase in land values. But it had force, and under the circumstances of the receiver general's office, strongly appealed to the spendthrift lord proprietor. See Calvert to Sharpe, January 16, 1765, and Hamersley to Sharpe, February 20, 1766, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXI, 555; XIV, 267; and Gould, *The Land System in Maryland*, 99-100.

⁴⁷ Instructions, Baltimore to Sharpe *et al.*, January 16, 1765, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 189-93.

the land designated to be applicable. But the policy of selling was not abandoned. A year later Baltimore issued a special joint commission to the governor, Dulany, and John Morton Jordan, a merchant and newcomer to Maryland who may be considered as a sort of special financial emissary from Lord Baltimore. The new commission and accompanying instructions⁴⁸ authorized the sale of all the reserved lands and manors, totalling about 115,000 acres, which belonged to the proprietor; they changed the rates somewhat, fixing the sale price at £100 per hundred acres of tenanted and cultivated land and at £30 per hundred acres of untenanted land; and they established other conditions of sale.

The process of selling proved to be slow business, and, although continued throughout the lifetime of the proprietor, did not, in terms of his large income, bring great returns. Legal complications needing to be straightened out before clear titles could be given were sometimes troublesome, but the chief difficulty was economic. The manorial tenants on the soil could not afford to purchase their own tenancies, and, although the sales were regularly advertised, there were few bidders. Even after sales had been negotiated, remittances came in slowly.⁴⁹ In the spring of 1768, after two years of effort, out of 86,000 acres offered only about 17,000 had been disposed of. The total value of the sales to that date came to £18,431 14s. 5d. but only a third of the money had been received. Four years later, at the time of Lord Baltimore's death, only £12,360 13s. 7d. worth of manorial lands had been sold in addition.⁵⁰ Through the six years from 1766 to 1772, not only did the sales not clear Lord Baltimore's books of his doubtful asset,

⁴⁸ Commission and instructions, Baltimore to Sharpe, Dulany, and John Morton Jordan, February 21, 1766, *ibid.*, XXXII, 134-40. See also, Hamersley to Sharpe, February 20, 1766, *ibid.*, XIV, 267; Kilty, *The Land-Holder's Assistant*, 242-45; Gould, *The Land System in Maryland*, 100-101; and Giddens, "Land Policies and Administration in Colonial Maryland," *loc. cit.*, 163-66.

⁴⁹ Sharpe to Baltimore, July 19, October 22, 1766, October 29, 1767, and Hamersley to Sharpe, November 8, 1766, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 319-20, 335-36, 343-44, 424.

⁵⁰ The figures for 1768 appear in a statement of sales, MS. in Portfolio no. 3, and those for 1772 (January 14) in an account, MS. in Calvert Papers, no. 1028, in the Maryland Historical Society.

the manorial lands, but rather they complicated the situation by dividing the previously contiguous manors with freeholds. They brought Lord Baltimore considerable credit, but the money payments were not great and his income from rents was diminished.

More certainly than the sale of the manorial lands, a result of Lord Baltimore's dissatisfaction with Receiver General Lloyd was the launching, in April, 1768, of a new provincial institution, the board of revenue. The authority of the board seems to have derived from a special commission of February 21, 1766, issued by Lord Baltimore to the governor, deputy secretary, commissary general, attorney general, and the judges of the land office. This commission, accompanied by supporting instructions,⁵¹ ordered in the most formal way the auditing of the agent's accounts and the prosecution of reforms in the administration of the revenues. Whereas in 1761 Lord Baltimore had tried to secure improved administration by sending detailed instructions to an agent in whom his confidence was shaken, and by so doing had increased rather than diminished his dependence on that agent's good faith and initiative, he now shifted the responsibility. In creating the board of revenue, he transferred from Lloyd to Governor Sharpe and his associates the responsibility for such reforms as the proper housing of the records (which was now promptly provided) and the more rigid supervision of the manor lands. Further, Lord Baltimore made the desired reforms more specific and far reaching: he gave the governor "access to every office and control over every officer," he ordered the reduction to a minimum of all commissions for the collecting of revenues, and he required the auditing not only of the agent's general account but also of the accounts of the individual receivers of quit-rents. Under the new arrangement the agent became less an executive and more an accountant, and an inner circle of the provincial council

⁵¹ The commission seems to be lacking, but it is referred to in the instructions. See instructions, Baltimore to Sharpe, February 21, 1766, and to Sharpe, Dulany, and Morton, March 22, 1766, in *Minutes of the Board of Revenue, Archives of Maryland*, XXXII, 395-97. The judges of the land office were not actually named in the commission, or the first instructions, but this seems to have been an oversight, for the instructions of March 22 explicitly provided for their inclusion in the board.

far more than earlier became the active guardian of the lord proprietor's financial interests in Maryland.

Through the seven years of its history, from 1768 until the Revolution, the board was harassed by the negotiations required by a series of changes—there were four in four years—in the office of receiver general. Colonel Lloyd, who had been found in arrears to Lord Baltimore at the first auditing of his books and who resented the censure implied in the creation of the board, now resigned;⁵² but the resignation solved no problems, for the board was compelled by instructions from Lord Baltimore to appoint an irresponsible favorite, the Reverend Bennet Allen, who in the course of a scandalous career in Maryland had incurred the particular enmity of the Dulany family, two of whom sat on the board. Doubtless as a result of the representations of members of the board, Baltimore soon ordered the appointment of a new agent, and the board selected Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, who proved to be a conscientious and competent official. But he had held office only a year when John Morton Jordan, he who had been named in the commission to sell the manors, returned to Maryland from a visit to England bearing a commission from Lord Baltimore as agent. During his stay in England, which had coincided with the launching of the board, Jordan had been authorized in "a short kind of commission" to be "Supervisor of Accounts, Lands, and Revenues in and from the Province of Maryland," a new and unprecedented office which gave him the duty of receiving and reviewing duplicates of all the accounts sent from Maryland and of corresponding "with such persons as he may think properly qualified to give either information or assistance towards the improvement or collection of my revenues," and the right to advise the board of revenue.⁵³ Apparently this appointment was intended to supply Lord Baltimore with a special financial counsel in England, and Jordan's return to Maryland involved a decision, wholly

⁵² Sharpe to Baltimore, July 14, 1766, March 31, 1768, Sharpe to Hamersley, March, 1767, and Hamersley to Sharpe, March 28, 1768, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 316, 478-79, 382-83, 474.

⁵³ Commission of John Morton Jordan, August 16, 1768, *ibid.*, XXXII, 410-11. See also Kilty, *The Land-Holder's Assistant*, 262.

consistent with Lord Baltimore's general policy, to place one known to be closely attached to his interest in the office of agent. But Jordan's tenure, although it seems to have been successful, was short, for he died after about two years in office, to be succeeded by Major Jenifer, the last to hold the office. These changes in office meant work and trouble for the board of revenue, because an exact accounting, the transfer of the books, and the issue of instructions were in each case involved.⁵⁴ This waste of energy illustrates a typical contradiction in the Maryland establishment. While its functions made order and system requisite, patronage was an essential feature, and the two interests came into frequent conflict.

In the performance of its normal supervisory duties, the board, in the short period of its history, proved a successful institution. It met regularly, according to rule, three times a year and for such special sessions as occasion demanded.⁵⁵ It provided itself with a clerk, who was a good accountant, at a salary of £80 a year. Ordinary meetings were devoted to advising with the agent, the surveyors general, the rent-roll keepers, or lesser officials, such as the receivers of quitrents, about disputed questions of procedure and jurisdiction. Probably the most thorough and important piece of work done by the board was the drafting, in 1768, of forms of instructions for all the financial officers, namely, the agent, the rent-roll keepers, the receivers of quitrents, the judges of the land office, the county surveyors, the commissary general, the deputy commissaries, the clerks of the courts, the attorney general, the sheriffs, the examiner general, and the naval officers. In no other place were the duties of the provincial officers so carefully set forth as in this series of instructions.

The board of revenue, for seven years only, at last combined the elements which, for the best financial interests of Lord Baltimore, needed combining. The governor and his associates in the board—in its

⁵⁴ The description of the work of the board in this and the next two paragraphs is based on the *Minutes of the Board of Revenue, Archives of Maryland*, XXXII, 397-489.

⁵⁵ An exception must be made for the years 1772 and 1773, when there were few and irregular meetings.

first year, Governor Sharpe, the able Daniel Dulany and his brother Walter, and one other frequently made the quorum—brought together at one council table prestige, authority, knowledge of local conditions, and loyalty to the proprietor. The board of revenue is to be viewed as the culmination, on the eve of the Revolution, of that process begun in 1733, of introducing a degree of system and a maximum of productiveness into Lord Baltimore's property interests in Maryland. It at last institutionalized the main interest of the proprietary element in the provincial system.

The First Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association

By WILLIAM C. BINKLEY

Any misgivings that may have lingered in the minds of the small group of historians of the South who had gathered at Atlanta in November, 1934, to organize the Southern Historical Association were happily dispelled when the new Association convened at Birmingham on October 25 and 26, 1935, for its first annual meeting. Instead of the fifty or sixty members who had been expected by the most optimistic, the registration reached an official total of one hundred and nine, while the attendance at the various sessions ran considerably higher than that number. Of equal significance was the fact that every Southern state from Maryland to Texas was represented and that several historians from outside the South were also in attendance, while the report of the committee on membership showed that three hundred and seventy-two members had been enrolled during the year. Not only did the number exceed expectations, but the excellent weather conditions, the hospitality of the city of Birmingham and especially of Birmingham-Southern College, the spirit of those who participated in the program, and the lively interest manifested in the general discussions in each session combined to establish the conviction that the new organization had completed its first year of existence in an auspicious manner.

The program was opened with a general session on the history of the Confederacy, presided over by E. Merton Coulter, the first president of the Association. The only formal paper in this session was presented by Charles W. Ramsdell of the University of Texas on "Some Problems Involved in Writing the History of the Confederacy," in which it was

pointed out that while a full and comprehensive history of the Confederacy is needed it is perhaps too soon for any one person to untangle all the complexities of the subject. The speaker explained that more monographic work needs to be done not merely in the period of the Confederacy itself but also in the ante-bellum South where most of the problems of wartime had their roots. Among the major difficulties to be faced, he emphasized that of understanding the problems of strategy, logistics, and tactics in dealing with the military campaigns; that of obtaining sufficient information about the status of Southern industries as the background of Confederate and state finances and banking practices; and the scarcity of exact data on the repercussions of a falling currency upon credit, prices, business operations, living conditions, and upon both Confederate and state administrative functions. More careful study must be made of such problems as the actual operations of impressments of supplies, the cotton policy, the use of slaves, the blockade-running business, the hospitals, relief organizations, and the new activities assumed by state and local governments. Such work is rendered extremely difficult, he said, by the apparent impossibility of finding out what went on within the various branches of the Confederate government because of the failure to keep records and because very little in the way of correspondence, diaries, or reminiscences has come to light. Until good monographs can be worked out on these and many other subjects to be used as a basis for determining a proper distribution of the emphasis, he believes that the writing of an adequate history of the Confederacy would be a superhuman achievement.

In opening the discussion on this paper, Ella Lonn of Goucher College undertook to view the problem from the slightly different angle of difficulties encountered in writing on any phase of Confederate history. After pointing out the danger of bias, which presents itself in subtle forms to throw the historian off his guard, and emphasizing the absence of essential data that had never been recorded, she stressed the difficulty of finding information which has been recorded, because of its location in widely separated places and because of the lack of satisfactory indexes to serve as guides to the material. She offered as construc-

tive suggestions the possibility of promoting a co-operative project for the indexing of a group of typical newspapers and perhaps of manuscript collections, and the desirability of encouraging the establishment of a central depository in each state for the collection and preservation of materials pertaining to the history of that state. The discussion was continued by Albert B. Moore of the University of Alabama, who elaborated on the difficulty of getting at the necessary materials and on the more important gaps remaining to be closed. He emphasized especially the need of more careful study of what was going on behind the lines in the Confederacy.

The first annual dinner of the Association was held on the evening of October 25 in the Ballroom of the Tutwiler Hotel, with Wendell H. Stephenson of Louisiana State University presiding. Because of the unavoidable absence of John Temple Graves II, who had been designated to extend a welcome from the city of Birmingham, his place on the program was filled by Arthur Condy, international secretary of the Civitan Club. President Coulter's presidential address, on "What the South Has Done about its History," was delivered at this time. Since it appears in full elsewhere in this number (see pp. 3 ff.), it requires no extended notice here. Immediately after this address the members and visitors were the guests of Birmingham-Southern College at a reception in the Stockham Woman's Building on the College campus, where music and other entertainment afforded an agreeable social respite from the more serious and formal features of the program.

Two sessions were held simultaneously on the morning of October 26 on the campus of Birmingham-Southern College. In accord with the professed interest of the Association in promoting the advancement of the teaching and study of all branches of history in the South, one of these was devoted to a consideration of "The Freshman Course." Ross H. McLean of Emory University served as chairman, and the only formal paper was presented by Carl H. Pegg of the University of North Carolina on "A New Introductory Course in the Social Sciences," in which the aims and objectives and the organization of a freshman course prepared co-operatively by members of the departments of eco-

nomics, history, political science, and sociology at the University of North Carolina were described. Mr. Pegg explained that the aim of this course is to acquaint the student with the chief features of the historical background out of which his civilization has grown and to deepen his understanding of the main institutions, ideas, and problems of the present by discussing them in the light of their origin and development. This type of course was selected in preference to one on contemporary problems because of a belief that it would give the student background, perspective, depth of experience, and training in the art of evaluating institutions which should help him to discuss his problems with greater precision, aid him in forming sound judgments, and lessen the likelihood of extravagance and error in his acts. In the present experiment the class is handled in reasonably small sections in order that discussion may predominate in the classroom, and the program is built around a syllabus and a special reading room instead of a text.

The formal discussion was opened by Merritt B. Pound of the University of Georgia, whose comments were read by another in his absence. His contribution was that of comparing the University of North Carolina course with a similar experiment which is being carried on in the junior college division of the University System of Georgia. He pointed out that the aims and objectives of the two courses are essentially the same, and that the main differences lie in the facts, first, that North Carolina uses a syllabus and reading room while Georgia depends upon textbooks and readings prepared especially for this purpose by members of the staff, and second, that the North Carolina plan is limited to the freshman year while the Georgia program is projected into the sophomore year and is there made to apply more specifically to the study of the contemporary local situation. Benjamin B. Kendrick of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina then offered a series of informal suggestions concerning the desirability of continuing such work on an experimental basis along various lines as a means of arriving ultimately at some satisfactory conclusions as to the place of this type of course in the university curriculum and as to how it should

be handled. The general discussion from the floor, which followed, revealed a widespread interest in such experimental work.

The other morning session, presided over by Frank L. Owsley of Vanderbilt University, was devoted to the general topic, "Some Representative Men of the Old South." A group of four papers was presented, in which the emphasis was placed on four relatively unknown individuals whose work represented a phase of intellectual and economic activity in the ante-bellum South that has been largely overlooked by historians because of the more spectacular work of politicians and public officials. In discussing "George Tucker, Social Scientist," Leonard C. Helderman of Washington and Lee University brought out the fact that Tucker was one of the pioneers in this country in the study of economics and history, and that as first chairman of the faculty and professor of moral philosophy at the University of Virginia from 1825 to 1845 his work demonstrated evidence of educational statesmanship of a high order. As an economist he gave pioneer criticism of the Malthusian theory and the Ricardian doctrine of rent, while he also penetrated into the economic, racial, and social aspects of the slavery problem. In finance he saw the adverse effects of fluctuation on the debtor; proposed methods for the social control of credit, including a graduated income tax; explained the importance of the deposit function; and predicted the future control over the discount rate. His suggestion of federalism as the compromise between national uniformity in banking and the Jacksonian fear of centralization was the route taken in later legislation, and he was among the first economists in this country to recognize the principle of economic relativity. As a historian his chief work was the writing of the first critical biography of Thomas Jefferson to appear in American historical literature.

Fletcher M. Green of Emory University presented a paper on "Duff Green, Industrial Promoter," in which he showed that after devoting some forty-five years of his life to politics and journalism, Green turned his attention to the development of the economic and industrial resources of the South. Becoming interested in coal mining in Virginia and Maryland, he soon recognized the need of improved transportation

facilities and encouraged the construction of canal systems in various parts of the South. From this he turned to railway construction and during the 1850's formulated plans for the purchase of key roads which were to be united into a great Southern railway system. He awakened the interest of Northern capitalists in planning two main trunk lines from Washington to the South: one through the Shenandoah Valley, by way of Knoxville and Nashville to New Orleans; the other by way of Richmond, Raleigh, Columbia, Atlanta, and Montgomery to Mobile. He next turned to the promotion of a Southern Pacific road to join the Southern lines at New Orleans and to connect with the Pacific coast by way of Texas and Mexico in which he succeeded in interesting the Mexican government and the European holders of Mexican bonds only to have the plan frustrated by the secession of the Southern states. During the Civil War he opened and developed iron mines in Georgia and Tennessee which made important contributions in the conduct of the war. It was pointed out that while most of Green's industrial enterprises failed of their goal during his own lifetime, his vision of the mining, industrial, and railway development of the South was prophetic of the future, and that his program of economic solidarity as a means of building political solidarity and an alliance of the South and West was based on sound reasoning.

In a paper on "John McDonogh, Capitalist and Philanthropist," Mack Swearingen of Tulane University denied that McDonogh might be considered as representative of the Old South, but stated that he was a representative in the South of the capitalistic point of view. Starting life as a clerk, he developed astuteness in business methods which enabled him to accumulate one of the largest fortunes of his time. He then invested in plantations in Louisiana and gained control of business enterprises in New Orleans and worked out a complicated scheme by which his own slaves might earn their freedom through a device of crediting each of them with the value of his labor until this reached the total value of the slave himself. In this way the individual slave was stimulated to harder work in order to shorten his period of servitude, and if he survived the extra toil he was rewarded by being

transported to Liberia. McDonogh spent his later years in seclusion, during which time he framed an idealistic plan for promoting elementary and secondary education in Louisiana and undertook to provide in his will for the carrying out of this program without indicating that he had any conception of the cost.

The program was concluded with a paper on "B. L. C. Wailes, Scientist and Historian," by Charles S. Sydnor of the University of Mississippi, in which it was pointed out that Wailes stands out as a collector of materials for both the scientist and the historian of Mississippi. In the field of science he prepared the first report on the agriculture and geology of Mississippi and collected specimens for state and college museums, in addition to furnishing both information and specimens to a number of the leading scientists of his day. In the field of history he was instrumental in organizing the Mississippi Historical Society, and as its first and only president collected a large amount of printed and manuscript material on the history of the Old South. Although his chief contribution was made as a collector, he included a brief history of early Mississippi in his report on the agriculture and geology of the state and later wrote several short historical articles.

The meeting was brought to a close with a luncheon, tendered by Birmingham-Southern College in honor of the members of the Association, at which President Guy E. Snavely of Birmingham-Southern College gave a survey of the history of the College. Resolving itself into a business session, the Association then heard reports from the standing committees and from the managing editor of the *Journal*. A permanent constitution was adopted, and the following officers elected: President, Charles W. Ramsdell of the University of Texas; Vice-President, Philip M. Hamer of The National Archives; Secretary-Treasurer, Fletcher M. Green of Emory University; members of the executive council for the terms ending in 1938, James G. Randall of the University of Illinois and Maude H. Woodfin of the University of Richmond, and to fill the vacancy in the term ending in 1937 created by the elevation of Professor Ramsdell to the presidency, Frank L. Owsley of Vanderbilt University.

Constitution and By-Laws of the Southern Historical Association

CONSTITUTION

I.

The name of this organization shall be The Southern Historical Association.

II.

Its purpose shall be the encouragement of the study of history in the South, with particular emphasis on the history of the South.

III.

All persons who are interested in promoting the purposes of this Association are eligible for membership therein.

IV.

The Association shall hold one annual meeting and such other meetings as the council may call.

V.

The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer. They shall be elected at each annual meeting as provided in the by-laws, and shall hold office for one year or until their successors are qualified.

VI.

There shall be an executive council consisting of the president, the vice-president, the secretary-treasurer, the managing editor of *The Journal of Southern History*, ex-presidents for a period of three years following the expiration of their terms of office, and six additional members, two of whom shall be elected at each annual meeting for a term of service of three years each.

VII.

The duties of the council shall be to: (1) decide upon the time and place of the annual meeting of the Association, and to call such other meetings as it may think advisable; (2) appoint the managing editor and the board of editors of *The Journal of Southern History*; (3) fill vacancies which may occur in any

office until the beginning of the next calendar year; (4) prepare a budget and handle the business of the Association; (5) formulate and propose to the Association plans for carrying its purposes into effect.

VIII.

The constitution and by-laws may be amended by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting at the annual business meeting. Any proposed amendment shall be submitted to the secretary-treasurer and must be sent by him to the members with the notice of the annual meeting.

BY - L A W S

I.

The annual dues of the Association shall be \$3.00. Upon payment of \$50.00 any person may become a life member, exempt from the payment of further dues.

II.

The fiscal year shall begin on January 1. Terms of office shall begin on the 1st of January following regular election.

III.

Elections shall be by ballot at the business session of each annual meeting. Nominations shall be made by a nominating committee and may be made by any member from the floor.

IV.

The president shall appoint annually a committee on program, a committee on nominations, a committee on membership, and such other committees as the council or Association shall authorize.

V.

The official organ of the Association shall be *The Journal of Southern History*, which shall be distributed to all members. The policies of the *Journal* shall be determined by the managing editor and the board of editors, eight in number. Members of the board of editors shall serve four years, two to be chosen each year.

VI.

A quorum shall consist of fifteen members.

Documents

BEHIND THE SCENES IN THE RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA: DIARY OF JOSEPHUS WOODRUFF

Edited by R. H. WOODY

Josephus Woodruff, a native South Carolinian, former newspaper man and expert stenographic reporter, was clerk of the Senate of South Carolina from 1868 to 1877. It is not known when he began the diary or how long he continued it. The portion here given begins with Tuesday, July 21, 1874 (a dozen lines precede but are undated), and runs to October 21, 1874; then there is a break until August 9, 1875, from which point it is continued until December 31, 1875.¹ The original is in the possession of the Historical Commission of South Carolina; it is through the courtesy of the secretary, Mr. A. S. Salley, that it is here reproduced. The editor chanced upon the original in the basement of the Statehouse in Columbia and rescued it from a half century of obscurity to offer it as a firsthand account of an age best described by one who played a part in it.

During the legislative investigation of the Republican régime which followed the Democratic victory in the contested election of 1876, a portion of Woodruff's diary was published, plainly to discredit the opposition.² However, nothing given here has been printed previously.

¹ That part of the diary falling within the August 9, 1875-December 31, 1875, period will appear in the May, 1936, issue of the *Journal*.

² *Report of the Joint Investigating Committee on Public Frauds and Election of Hon. J. J. Patterson to the United States Senate made to the General Assembly of South Carolina at the regular session of 1877-78* (Columbia, 1878), cited hereafter as *Fraud Report*. The parts printed were extracts and the entire diary was not printed even for the periods covered by the extracts. The periods follow: January 4, 1873-December 28, 1873, with one item of July 17, 1874 (bearing mainly on the public printing), pp. 1233-42; January 3, 1873-July 14, 1874, pp. 1298-1309 (exhibit "W"); January 8, 1873-February 4, 1876, pp. 1413-19.

It is probable that the parts of the diary from which the extracts were printed were sent to the printers and never returned. The editorial explanations in the following have been kept as brief as possible. Additional information and further references may be had by consulting the histories of South Carolina which treat this period.⁸

Met⁴ Cliff Houston⁵ who proposed to borrow or purchase some of our orders on the printing at 20 per cent discount. Declined his proposition. Received a dispatch from Columbia saying the mandamus⁶ would not be decided before next week. Wrote Willie⁷ that the magnates at Columbia were all frauds of the worst kind. Moses⁸ is trying a big game to cheat the printers. Am done with Moses. Let him go to the dogs.

Tuesday July 21 1874 The Charleston Sun published by Durbeck[,] Thomas & Co. made its appearance today.⁹ Wish them success. Received no further news from Columbia.

Friday July 24 1874 Called on Jones¹⁰ and showed him a letter from

⁸ John S. Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina, 1865-1877* (Columbia, 1905); Alrutheus A. Taylor, *The Negro in South Carolina during the Reconstruction* (Washington, 1924); Francis B. Simkins and R. H. Woody, *South Carolina During Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, 1932).

⁴ An incomplete sentence on the first page of the MS. is omitted.

⁵ Governor Moses' secretary.

⁶ At the previous session of the legislature certain acts were passed making appropriations to pay claims of certain persons, including A. O. Jones and Josephus Woodruff, the state printers. The law required the state treasurer to issue certificates of indebtedness to the claimants, the certificates in some cases being receivable for taxes and in others payable out of incoming taxes. The attorney general, holding that the certificates would absorb in advance the entire proceeds of the tax levy, advised the treasurer to refuse payment on constitutional grounds. Jones, Woodruff, and others, therefore, asked the court for a writ of mandamus to compel payment. This explains much of the ill feeling which existed between Woodruff and State Treasurer Cardozo.

⁷ Albert O. Jones, mulatto clerk of the House and Woodruff's partner in the Republican Printing Company.

⁸ Franklin J. Moses, Jr., of Sumter, secretary to Governor Pickens during the war, later turned Scalawag, became a member of the legislature, speaker of the House, and governor, 1872-1874. Woodruff's judgment of men was colored by many prejudices but on Moses he was surely charitable.

⁹ William M. Thomas, a native of Charleston, had been elected judge of the sixth circuit by the Republican legislature; the legislature requested Governor R. K. Scott to remove him, and he resigned to start the Charleston *Sun*.

¹⁰ Evidently not A. O. Jones, clerk of the House, who is frequently alluded to as "Willie," but probably William H. ("Red Hot") Jones, Jr., a colored native of Philadelphia who represented Georgetown County in the House, 1868-1872, and was then elected to the Senate. It is not always clear to which Jones Woodruff is alluding.

Donaldson.¹¹ He thought it nothing strange and said he believed Moses would sell out his best friends. He shall not sell me any more; am done with him and will keep away from him as much as possible. Received a dispatch from Willie saying he could do nothing with the [state] Treasurer but that something would be done next week; that it was no use in my coming up. Wrote to him, enclosing Donaldson's letter; also wrote to Donaldson telling him I could do nothing more. Now they can decide as they please on the mandamus and they will please me by pleasing themselves. Unless Cardozo¹² intends issuing the certificates of indebtedness, I shall have nothing more to do about the mandamus. This decision gives me great relief and I have determined to stay home next week.

Saturday July 25 1874 Received a dispatch from Willie saying that he would pay off hands and would go on with the reports and resolutions. That is good. Let him work away. I shall send him a letter of congratulation. Told [W. H.] Jones of Willie's good luck and he thought it first rate. Guess Harry Hayne¹³ must have paid him. Talked to Jones about visiting Columbia, but did not think it would do any good. Am tired of Gov Moses. Never met a worse blackmailer. He has no conscience. I don't know that Chamberlain¹⁴ will be any better if elected Governor.¹⁵ There is some talk of Hoge but Hoge is too much of a blackmailer.¹⁶ Cavender¹⁷ is with Dunn¹⁸ and working for Dunn. He would make a good Treasurer. Fillebrown will never be able to make himself popular.

Sunday July 26 1874 Col Montgomery¹⁹ called this afternoon and we had a long chat. He appeared to be in favor of Moses' re-election. Met Mr. Baldwin U. S Asst Treasurer.²⁰ He told me the federal office holders were all against Moses; said they wanted a decent Governor. Told them they ought to take

¹¹ Probably Thomas Q. Donaldson, senator from Greenville County.

¹² Francis L. Cardozo, mulatto, secretary of state, 1868-1872; treasurer, 1872-1876.

¹³ Henry E. Hayne, colored, secretary of state, 1872-1874; previously a senator from Marion County.

¹⁴ Daniel H. Chamberlain of Massachusetts, member of the South Carolina Constitutional Convention, 1868; attorney general, 1868-1872; governor, 1874-1876.

¹⁵ This is an allusion to the impending fall election.

¹⁶ Solomon L. Hoge, Carpetbagger, member of state supreme court, 1868-1869; resigned to enter Congress; comptroller general, 1872-1874; again a member of Congress, 1875-1877.

¹⁷ Thomas S. Cavender, later appointed auditor of Chesterfield County by Governor Chamberlain; removed, 1876.

¹⁸ T. C. Dunn of Massachusetts, opposed the Chamberlain ticket in 1874; senator from Horry County, 1872-1875; succeeded S. L. Hoge as comptroller general in 1875.

¹⁹ Probably Charles W. Montgomery, senator from Newberry County.

²⁰ Apparently the only Baldwins in the employ of the treasury department at this time were C. A. and C. H. Baldwin, disbursing agents.

Dunn. Said I wanted to see Cardozo defeated for Treasurer. Cardozo will be able to buy up the whole legislature if they have just such a one as they had last year.

Monday July 27 1874 Mr Miles'²¹ reply to Campbell²² appeared today. Mr. Miles thinks Campbell is above his reach and therefore can't get redress for the insult offered him. Never knew until today, how many enemies I had made by the purchase of the [Charleston] Meeting street house. Wish now I had not bought it, but invested the money in government or state securities. Senator Jones sent for money today but I could not give him any Suppose he will be angry and swear to vote against me next time.²³ Received a letter from Hollinshead²⁴ asking me to accept an order for him for \$50 which I agreed to do. Met Col Thos Y Simons²⁵ in the cars today, and went in with him to look over his house. Invited him to come and take a look through our residence on Meeting st. He did so and appeared well pleased with it. The Colonel is one that never changes or ignores old friends; always pleasant and sociable.

Tuesday July 28 1874 Received a letter from Willie relative to the mandamus case and payments made in office. Met Chamberlain, Neagle²⁶ Elliott²⁷ and Puffer.²⁸ Saw Judge Carpenter²⁹ taking a ride with Puffer. The judge [Carpenter] will probably pull through all right.³⁰ I can see from an editorial in the Union Herald³¹ that a combination has been formed to compel Moses to stand aside

Wednesday July 29 1874 Called to see Jones and learned that it was no use to expect the mandamus decision. Well I think we can stand it if Moses can. I suppose the Governor wants another chance for a whack at us. Met

²¹ Charles R. Miles, prominent Charleston lawyer and active Democrat; elected attorney general after Reconstruction.

²² James B. Campbell, prominent Charleston attorney.

²³ The members of the Senate selected the clerk.

²⁴ J. Hollinshead, senator from Abbeville County.

²⁵ Prominent Charleston Democrat and lawyer.

²⁶ J. L. Neagle, native of North Carolina, comptroller general, 1868-1872.

²⁷ Robert B. Elliott, Negro from Massachusetts, member of the Constitutional Convention, 1868; House, 1868-1870; member of Congress part of two terms, 1871-1874; speaker of the House during Chamberlin's administration, 1874-1876.

²⁸ C. C. Puffer, native of Charleston, member of the legislature, and at this time receiver of the Bank of the State.

²⁹ Richard B. Carpenter, Carpetbagger, register in bankruptcy, Charleston, 1867-1869; elected circuit judge by the legislature, 1868; resigned July, 1870, to become candidate for governor on the "Reform" ticket opposed to Governor R. K. Scott; was defeated and again in 1872 elected to a judgeship.

³⁰ He was re-elected by the legislature.

³¹ A Republican and administration newspaper in Columbia, 1873-1877.

Hurley,³² Neagle, Chamberlain, Judge Carpenter and several others together today. Don't know what Judge Carpenter wants but think he would make a good Governor. Had a long talk with Marshall Wallace.³³ He seemed to think there was no chance whatever for Moses, and thinks Moses ought to give right up. Well if Moses does not give way he will be a much bolder man than I give him credit for. Moses may reserve his fire until the meeting of the Convention.³⁴ The mandamus will probably not be decided till then. If he thinks of making anything out of me in the meantime he is mistaken. The printing Company³⁵ is not getting much and I suppose will not. So he must let us alone.

Thursday July 30 1874 Mr J B Campbells reply to Mr. Miles appeared this morning. Think I will [leave] for Columbia tomorrow to see Nash.³⁶ Do not think Nash will go back on me. Wonder how Cardozo will move. It will be well for him to see all the parties he can. If Whittemore is re-elected he will stand by me.³⁷

Friday July 31 1874 Willie arrived from Columbia. Willie thinks Moses will yield to Chamberlain, and will try to run for the House of Representatives and be re-elected speaker. Wish he would give way; nobody cares for him now. I suppose I will have to pay C. D. Melton ³⁸ even if the certificates are not issued, but Hoge will be minus. Well I shall be amused to see the crowd fight. They will all have enough to do to keep their heads above water. Moses³⁹ I think is going to keep back the mandamus decision

Saturday August 1 1874 I sigh for those certificates of indebtedness Would like to have them all out and in circulation before the meeting of the legislature and before the openings of the campaign

Monday August 3, 1877 [*sic*] Left this morning for Columbia. Met J. G.

³² Timothy Hurley, a Connecticut Irishman, publisher of the *South Carolina Leader*, 1865-1867, and the *Free Press*, 1868; member of the Constitutional Convention, 1868; in the legislature, 1868-1870, and subsequently won much fame as a lobbyist; appointed treasurer of Charleston County, December, 1874.

³³ Robert M. Wallace, United States marshal for the district of South Carolina.

³⁴ The Republican state nominating convention.

³⁵ The Republican Printing Company of Jones and Woodruff.

³⁶ Beverly Nash, former slave of W. C. Preston; member of the Senate and prominent in state politics for the whole of Reconstruction.

³⁷ Woodruff was concerned over his re-election to the clerkship. Benjamin F. Whittemore, Carpetbagger from Massachusetts, minister-politician; founder of the *Darlington New Era*, 1865; member of the Constitutional Convention, 1868; member of Congress, 1869-1870, when forced to resign; re-elected but refused a seat; at this time a state Senator.

³⁸ Professor in the University of South Carolina Law School, 1869-1875; a native of York County.

³⁹ Probably F. J. Moses, Sr., chief justice of the state Supreme Court, 1868-1877, and father of Governor F. J. Moses; however, Woodruff might have meant Governor Moses.

Thompson⁴⁰ at depot; also others whom I knew. On the cars met Mr. Cantwell⁴¹ of Ridgeville. He made me a present of a regular shillelah. I wonder if it was made to crack anybodys head. Arrived in Columbia about 5 o'clock. Saw my foreman about the reports and resolutions⁴² Met Judge Cook;⁴³ also Trial Justice Cook⁴⁴ The latter had been removed from his position Told Patton our pressman that we wanted to go ahead with the old statutes and after that with the Immigration Report.⁴⁵

Tuesday August 4 1874 Called on Donaldson who told me the mandamus descision would not be issued unless the Governor [F. J. Moses] said so. (Afterwards saw Wright.⁴⁶ He read me the opinion and order thereon but wanted me to get him \$1000. Could not do it and the descision was not filed. Found the descision would not have been filed even if I had given him the \$1000. The Chief Justice [Franklin J. Moses, Sr.] was not in the city to sign it. McIntyre⁴⁷ said it would not be filed until after the meeting of the convention).⁴⁸ Saw Cardozo but had no more than a general talk with him. Saw and had some talk with him. Cannot wait on officials when there is no money in it. Hoge is a fraud. Left for Charleston.

Wednesday August 5 1874 Arrived home. Met Chief Justice Moses who told me the mandamus descision would be filed tomorrow. Was glad to hear it, but am now anxious to know whether Cardozo will appeal. If he does then we are balked again. I was getting angry with [Chief Justice] Moses, but it appears I was wrong. Thought the mandamus descision should have been filed before, but there may have been other reasons than those I supposed why it was not Sent word round to [W. H.] Jones about it.

⁴⁰ James G. Thompson, a Carpetbagger from Philadelphia; connected with several Beaufort newspapers during and after the war and in 1874 became editor of the *Columbia Union-Herald*, an administration paper largely under the influence of Chamberlain after that time.

⁴¹ Probably J. M. Cantwell, a schoolteacher.

⁴² Being printed for the legislature.

⁴³ Thompson H. Cooke of Orangeburg; elected judge of the eighth circuit, 1873; resigned, 1878.

⁴⁴ H. P. Cook, a magistrate of Orangeburg County.

⁴⁵ This report was never printed.

⁴⁶ Jonathan J. Wright, Negro from Pennsylvania; associate justice of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, 1870-1877.

⁴⁷ George F. McIntyre, native of Charleston; proprietor of the *Colleton Gazette*; represented Colleton in the House, 1868-1870, when elected to the Senate.

⁴⁸ The parentheses enclosing these sentences possibly indicate that this passage had been selected for publication during the Democratic investigation of the Republican regime in 1877. Testimony to this effect was printed in the *Fraud Report*. Other occasional entries following are likewise set off by parentheses.

Thursday August 6 1874 The mandamus descision⁴⁹ was filed today. Received dispatches from Willie, Frazee,⁵⁰ & Dunbar.⁵¹ The latter wanted me to come to Columbia immediately. Will go tomorrow night. We shall now see whether Cardozo is a man of truth. He told me if the descision was in favor of the issue of the certificates of indebtedness he would yield, that all he wanted was the opinion of the Supreme Court, and that he would bow to that.

Friday August 7 . 1874 Just as I expected. The papers announce that Cardozo intends to appeal. It may be a bluff game, but it's just like Cardozo. Nobody every knew him to keep his word. Well I shall try to be easy. Anbody talks to me now about money will only lose time, for they will not get any. Cardozo can afford I suppose to take all the responsibility. Sent dispatch to Willie to ascertain whether it was any use for me to come to Columbia as the News⁵² dispatch said Cardozo had appealed. The Union Herald announces that it will publish in full the descisions tomorrow

Sunday August 9. 1874 Called on [W. H.] Jones and he agreed to go to Columbia tomorrow night. I fear that we will accomplish nothing by going.

Monday August 10 1874 Sent dispatch to Willie that Jones and self left for Columbia this evening. Saw Moroso⁵³ today. He thought the News would attack and try to defeat me for the clerkship of the Senate. He also related a little incident of another fraud. It seems that [Howard] Carroll, correspondent of the New York Times, then in Charleston employed Moroso to assist him in writing a letter relative to the condition of things in South Carolina. Moroso spent some seven or eight hours in hard work writing up matters; and his letter made some three columns in the New York Times for which Carroll paid him the enormous sum of three dollars. Tim Hurley says Cardozo will appeal through some citizen of another state but that the certificates will be issued after the meeting of the [Republican nominating] Convention. Cannot tell what to believe. Talked with Puffer but he did not seem to know much. Taft⁵⁴ says Cardozo told him he was going to appeal. Moroso also showed me a paper relative to Pearces claim. Pearce did not get his claim through and Moroso did not

⁴⁹ In favor of the petitioners, including Woodruff and Jones; Justice A. J. Willard dissented.

⁵⁰ Phineas F. Frazee, sheriff of Richland County, who had an interest in the mandamus case since he was a claimant under the certificates of indebtedness.

⁵¹ James A. Dunbar, Columbia lawyer, representing Jones and Woodruff in the mandamus case.

⁵² *Charleston News and Courier*.

⁵³ John A. Moroso, reporter for the *News and Courier*; at one time editor of the *Charleston Courier*.

⁵⁴ Probably W. N. Taft, Carpetbagger from Rhode Island; Charleston policeman, coroner; state Senator, 1876-1880.

get his \$500. Moroso says he put Rivers⁵⁵ up to calling that meeting to order and then got others to speak. It was a big affair. Both of us agreed Rivers was a terrible fraud. Read Willards⁵⁶ opinion. He is a big fraud. Suppose we will soon see now whether Cardozo will really carry the case to the United States Court. I hardly care. Wish I was with the democrats

Tuesday August 11 1877 [*sic*] Arrived in Columbia this morning. Willie informed me that Cardozo paid \$250 for the printers Saturday. Good boy. [W. H. (?)] Jones and self interviewed Cardozo. All the comfort we received was that he was bound to appeal and intended to do it. A bitter quarrel ensued. Saw Whipper⁵⁷ and Dunbar. They said Cardozo would be compelled to give \$240,000 bonds as security for defendants. Called on Senator Patterson⁵⁸ relative to the removal of poor Brooks Mail Agt. Told him Brooks had just got married and his troubles just commenced. Patterson said the removal and new appointment had already been made; that it was too late to recall it; Brooks had no political influence and he (Patterson) must stand by the friends who voted for him. Talked with him relative to legislation next session. He said he wanted the Blue Ridge Scrip settled.⁵⁹ He promised to call on me when he visited Charleston. Called on Chamberlain who said he did not want to fight the Scrip any longer, but that Melton⁶⁰ was pushing it; that he would use his influence if nominated to stop further proceedings. Chamberlain did not appear wickedly inclined, but he might have been only playing off. Talked fight with Cardozo and told him we had a big fight to make and would make it. Will do my best to defeat Cardozo. The legislature should give Cardozo fits, and make him suffer. Donaldson told me Hardy Solomon⁶¹ would take certificates of indebtedness if issued. He wanted me to send \$5000 worth of paper to [Governor] Moses for his use. Had a conversation with Elliott. He appeared friendly but these politicians can't be trusted. Take for example the case of S. J. Lee.⁶² Lee had better be careful what he says.

⁵⁵ Prince R. Rivers, a Beaufort Negro representing Edgefield County in the House, 1868-1874, and perhaps longer.

⁵⁶ A. J. Willard of New York, associate justice of the state Supreme Court, 1868-1877; chief justice, 1877-1880. Willard dissented in the mandamus case.

⁵⁷ W. J. Whipper, a colored lawyer from Michigan who represented Beaufort County in the House and Senate, 1868-1876, when he was elected to a circuit judgeship. He was never allowed to take his seat, however.

⁵⁸ John J. Patterson from Pennsylvania; represented South Carolina in the United States Senate, 1873-1879.

⁵⁹ Treasury certificates of indebtedness had been issued in exchange for state endorsed bonds of the Blue Ridge Railroad, in which Patterson had a large interest, and he was anxious to collect on the certificates.

⁶⁰ Samuel W. Melton, brother to C. D. Melton, attorney general, 1872-1875.

⁶¹ Columbia merchant and president of the Carolina Bank & Trust Company.

⁶² Negro member of the House, 1868-1874; speaker, 1872-1874; elected solicitor of the second circuit, 1875.

Wednesday August 12 1874 Houston, private secretary of the Governor, called and wanted to negotiate some certificates for so much money. Agreed to proposition provided we got something out of the certificates in our office. If he will serve us, we will serve him and the Governor. Donaldson is trying to play a sharp game, but he will fail to trap me and I think will not be able to do the Governor any injury. Received a letter from Leslie⁶³ and wrote him I would be at Blackville next Monday Also received letter from Whittemore, who does not like my statement that the Darlington Southerner⁶⁴ will not be able to get more than half the amount of their bill. I am blocked and my friends are blocked

Thursday Aug 13 1874 [Willie] Jones called and agreed to take Houstons offer of fifty cents for our certificates Don't believe Houston can get the cash Whittemore writes me and is anxious about the issue of our certificates of indebtedness. As Patterson says, he will not spend his own money; he is such a big hog. There is a great deal of truth in that. Wonder if Moses gets the nomination, whether Cardozo will stick. Of course he will follow the winning crowd

Friday August 14 1874 The papers had a particularly refreshing item, stating that Cardozo had an encounter with Lee. Sorry it was not Lee that knocked Cardozo down, instead of Cardozo flooring Lee. Cardozo seems to belong to the pugilistic ring, as well as the money bags. Hurley's picnic took place today. It was a great thing for the poor children and capital political investment for Hurley. Got no further news of Cardozo's fight. If Lee had given him a sound thrashing, it might have done Cardozo some good. But Lee was physically unable. I begin to understand what Cardozo meant when he warned me I would have my head cracked if I did not look out. I shall be on the lookout whenever I talk with him hereafter. He appears to be a bully as well as a fraud! Would like to see Leslie and Cardozo have a rough and tumble frolic.

Monday Aug 17 1874 The [Charleston] News [and Courier] has an interesting account of a difficulty between Red Hot [W. H.] Jones and Bowley.⁶⁵ Told Senator Gaillard⁶⁶ I could not accept an appointment as Commissioner of Elections. Tim Hurley and Ransier⁶⁷ had a long talk, during which Ransier said

⁶³ C. P. Leslie from Brooklyn, New York; member of the Constitutional Convention of 1868; represented Barnwell County in the Senate, 1868-1872.

⁶⁴ A Darlington newspaper owned by Whittemore, at least in part.

⁶⁵ James A. Bowley, native of Maryland; Negro representative from Georgetown; chairman of the ways and means committee.

⁶⁶ S. E. Gaillard, senator from Charleston.

⁶⁷ Alonzo J. Ransier, Negro, native of Charleston; member of Constitutional Convention, 1868; House, 1869; lieutenant governor, 1870-1872; Congress, 1873-1875.

he was supporting Ed Mackey⁶⁸ for Congress. Would like to see Ned [E. W. M. Mackey] elected as it would be a little late justice to the old gentleman his father⁶⁹ who was defeated by Sawyer.⁷⁰ I think I understand Carpenter's⁷¹ support of Chamberlain. The latter has promised to support Carpenter for Congress. Wish the democrats would put out a liberal man and elect him. Shall refuse any further tribute to Cardozo unless he will do better for the printing Company.

Tuesday August 18, 1874 The papers announce that Cardozo's bond for appeal in mandamus case had been accepted by Judge Miller⁷² and that the case goes on the docket of the Supreme Court of the United States.⁷³ It gives me the blues. Cardozo will not do anything more for the printers. [Willie] Jones and self signed a printing bill for J P F Camp⁷⁴ Spartanburg New Era for \$250. Saw Govr Magrath⁷⁵ and Dawson⁷⁶ talking together; think Dawson more than a match for the Governor and will fling him when he has no further use for him. Dawson always turns away his face from me. He knows that I think him a consummate hypocrite. Received dispatch that notice of appeal had been filed and that L C Carpenter and C H. Baldwin⁷⁷ were Cardozo's bondsmen. Wonder how much they will make by it. The printers will have to live on faith.

Wednesday August 19 1874 Wrote letter to Willie telling him he must raise some money from Cardozo, but that if Cardozo meant fight he shall have all he desires. If re-elected I will try to head him off in the legislature. Met [T. J.] Minton, Cardozo's bookkeeper. He told me Cardozo had no idea of fighting either Jones or myself or the printers.

Thursday August 20 1874 Met Jones and asked him if he saw Minton to

⁶⁸ E. W. M. Mackey of Charleston; member of Constitutional Convention, 1868; sheriff and alderman; editor and proprietor of *Charleston Republican*, 1871-1872; House, 1873; Independent (Bolter) Republican candidate for Congress, 1874; speaker of the "Mackey House," 1876-1877.

⁶⁹ Albert G. Mackey, president of the Constitutional Convention of 1868, and a distinguished Mason.

⁷⁰ Frederick A. Sawyer, native of Massachusetts; in the United States Senate, representing South Carolina, 1868-1873; assistant secretary of the Federal treasury, 1873-1876.

⁷¹ Lewis C. Carpenter, Carpetbagger from Connecticut, established *Columbia Daily Union*, 1870; member Congress, 1874-1875; unsuccessful candidate for re-election.

⁷² Samuel F. Miller, associate justice United States Supreme Court, 1862-1890.

⁷³ It apparently never reached trial.

⁷⁴ Former sergeant at arms of the House; county treasurer of Spartanburg and editor of the *Spartanburg New Era*, a Republican newspaper.

⁷⁵ Andrew G. Magrath, Federal and Confederate states judge; governor of South Carolina, 1864-1865.

⁷⁶ Francis W. Dawson, native of England; editor of the *Charleston News and Courier*, a fiery Democratic paper.

⁷⁷ A Columbia banker.

pump him as much as possible Met Senator Swails.⁷⁸ He appears to be in favor of Gleaves⁷⁹ for Lieutenant Governor again. Does not want Ransier. Met Gurney,⁸⁰ who I found still in favor of Moses. He also thinks of being a candidate again for Congress, but think [E. W. M.] Mackey will beat him. Swails thinks an effort will be made to defeat Jones for the clerkship next session. Says there is a strong combination against him

Friday Aug 21 1874 Mr Gilbert [A. A. Gilbert, editor and proprietor of the *Sumter Watchman*] of Sumter Watchman called and I certified \$250 of his account for publication of laws. He was disappointed at my refusal to certify to the whole of his bill. Explained how it was; stated that the appropriation was limited and we dare not go over the amount appropriated. (Hear that Cardozo does not intend to let the printers have another dollar. He proposes to stop this corruption and commence anew. We shall see what the legislature will have to say to him) There will be some fight this year. Will not be able to help anybody with money. Would like to see and have a talk with Dunn. Cardozo will hardly dare attempt to defeat me. Dunn knows my tactics; got them from Holcombe.⁸¹ He said that Houston might attempt to defeat me for the clerkship of the Senate, but failing in that would try for Jones's place. Donaldson and Houston have got themselves in a tight place by advancing for [Governor] Moses. I guess Moses is all right and will fight it out.

Monday Aug 24 1874 Senator Pattersons speech may show those men who are looking for a fight what they may expect. I should not wonder if Moses either carries the day for the republican party or turns it over to the democrats. He has certainly made democratic appointments. Bowley is said to be in town. I suppose he and his crowd will be brought out on a writ of *habeas corpus*. The State Convention has some warm work before it. An application was made to me to go on Bowley's bond. Was compelled to decline.⁸²

Tuesday August 25 1874 Thought of asking Govr Magrath to undertake a trip to Washington and test the questions raised in the mandamus case relative to issue of certificates of indebtedness. Hurley thought I had better wait until the meeting of the Convention. (I find that Cass Carpenter is against me and is running for Congress. I shall have to take him up and must prepare for war. They must let this printing alone. Carpenter must be taught it is not the

⁷⁸ Stephen A. Swails, a mulatto from Pennsylvania; member of the Constitutional Convention, 1868; senator from Williamsburg County; after 1877 held position with department of interior.

⁷⁹ Richard H. Gleaves, mulatto from Pennsylvania; lieutenant governor, 1872-1876.

⁸⁰ William Gurney, treasurer of Charleston County.

⁸¹ Probably W. E. Holcombe, senator from Pickens County.

⁸² In the campaign of 1874 it was charged that Bowley, as chairman of the House committee of ways and means, had been bribed in making an appropriation for the penitentiary. Evidently he was indicted by the grand jury.

time to play with edged tools, and even if he is foreman of the Grand Jury I think I can have him indicted. Will get him off that Grand Jury so quick he wont know who did it. Let Cass go for the present. I trust he will be defeated by a good old democrat. Will do my part towards it.

Wednesday Aug 26 1874 Cass Carpenter stirred my angry passions again this morning. He says the Senators compose the printing ring and that one democrat was amongst them, whom he could name if he went on the witness stand). I should not wonder if McIntyre tries to defeat me. These fellows are all hard cases but I must try to head them. If elected clerk, Cardozo will take care to stand by me; if not he will kick us off immediately. Political affairs are getting warmer and the colored folks likely to have plenty of fun before the campaign is over. They will perhaps vote the republican ticket, but I would not be sorry to see them elect democrats. Must try and consult my old friend Col Thomas Y. Simons on the subject and see what he things could be done. No doubt an effort might be made to get some more democrats in the legislature. That would stop a good many pickings.

Saturday Aug 29 1874 Left for Columbia this morning so as to be there Sunday and not be involved with Moses or any of the crowd. Want to see Cardozo and may return Monday. It appears as if Bowen⁸³ had been beaten [in the sheriff's race] by Mackey. At depot met Rev Mr Bird and conversed with him; also had some conversation with Dr Bosemon.⁸⁴ Told the doctor that the Treasurer [Cardozo] would not dare treat a democratic General Assembly the way he had served the republicans. [Dr. Bosemon] Said a democratic Assembly would not give him occasion I agreed with him for the democrats would not pick him up much less have him for their Treasurer. Arrived in Columbia at five o'clock. Met Minort⁸⁵ who appeared sanguine of a victory over Nash, while Nash's friends are certain of victory over Minort. Would not fret were both Charmers out of the way. Nash talks as though he does not want me in the Senate and Minort is evasive. Met Dunbar who appeared very much excited over the prospect of putting Cardozo in jail; said he wanted [Attorney General S. W.] Melton pushed to attend to the case with him. Told him I would see Mr. Clark⁸⁶ as soon as possible. Willie got \$250 from Cardozo today. That was good and made me feel better towards Cardozo; particularly will feel good if Willie continues getting that amount every Saturday.

Sunday August 30 1874 Called on Cardozo and had an interview with him

⁸³ Christopher C. Bowen of Rhode Island; member of Constitutional Convention, 1868; member of Congress, 1868-1871; in legislature, 1871; sheriff of Charleston, 1872.

⁸⁴ Dr. B. A. Bosemon, a native of New York; began practice of medicine in Charleston, 1865; member of the legislature, 1868-1873; postmaster of Charleston, 1873-1877.

⁸⁵ Charles S. Minort, Negro member of the House from Richland County.

⁸⁶ The law partner of S. W. Melton.

and Rainey.⁸⁷ It did not amount to much. Dunbar told me the Chief Justice was furious about the treatment of the Court by Cardozo.⁸⁸ I do not suppose anything can be done with him. The friends of Chamberlain appear very sanguine of his nomination by the republican party. In fact Cardozo says Moses will not be a candidate. They seem to talk boldly about it. How Cardozo brought this thing about is a question. Told Cardozo he should not use me or the R. [epublican] P.[rinting] Co as the scapegoat of all their rascalities. He talks as if he really meant to do some good for the State, but he can't pull the wool over my eyes. Its the same old fight. He wants to take care of the bonds and let the floating debt take care of itself. Hurley, Leslie, Puffer and all those old chaps are in the new ring. Leslie may go back on me in his old way but can hardly think so. How they are going for Moses. How in the world can he stand it and be a candidate for Governor again. Would like to sell out all we have in Columbia for fear of riots. Willie thinks there will be a revolution.

Monday Aug 31 1874 Wrote order for Melton and Clark for \$2000 in event of the issue of certificates of indebtedness. Mr. Clark did not think much of it. Could not do anything else. Called on Cardozo and conversed with him on the subject. He said the various reports relative to probability of his issuing the certificates of indebtedness after the nomination were all without foundation. He also said that if they ruled him to go to jail he would go and stay there until released by a writ of *habeas corpus*. We shall see what will be the result. I suppose he will stick to his determination notwithstanding Chamberlains views. The appeal will not be withdrawn. Saw Secretary of State Hayne and gave him the application of the Horry News to be made the official paper of the County. Wrote to Mr. Lucas of Darlington and sent him journals and letter. Sent Journals, Reports and Resolutions to all the Charleston papers. Saw Frazee and told him of my interview with Cardozo. It dampened his ardor. He says the Chief Justice is still furious. Asked Frazee to telegraph me Chief Justice's opinion and decided to leave for Charleston.

Tuesday Sept 1 1874 Arrived home from Columbia. Met Hurley, Puffer and others. Told Puffer of Cardozo's descision. Saw [W. H.] Jones and told him about what Cardozo said; also what I learned in Columbia. Thought we had better not try to do anything until after the Convention. Suppose Dunn will be at the republican convention, at least I trust so, and that I can explain matters to him.⁸⁹ Expect a row in the Convention

Wednesday Sept 2 1874 Saw Campbell and others and converse with them

⁸⁷ Joseph H. Rainey, Negro from Georgetown; member of the Constitutional Convention, 1868; Senate, 1870; Congress, 1870-1879.

⁸⁸ Doubtless because Cardozo had appealed the court's decision in the mandamus case.

⁸⁹ It was about this time that T. C. Dunn was chairman of a Senatorial committee which rendered an unfavorable report on Treasurer Cardozo.

relative to probability of coming storm. They all seemed to think it would come and that it could not be helped. The republican Convention was held in the city [Charleston] today and resulted in a faction fight. Two delegations go to Columbia and then there will be another row. I can't help it. Neagle today promised to get Cardozo to issue those certificates. Can't get ready money at any price. Wonder if Cardozo will not relieve us. If not I trust he will be made to answer for it by the legislature. Something should be done to make him do what is fair.

Friday Sept 4 1874 The papers state that President Grant intended to protect the republicans of South Carolina. The conservatives showed their hands too soon. Suppose now we shall hear soon from Whittemore and others. May be able to effect settlement of claims this winter.

Saturday Sept 5 1874 Met Judge Carpenter who told me he saw no hope of my getting the certificates of indebtedness. Next legislature may arrange this matter and Cardozo with it. Received dispatch from Columbia that hands were all paid off. Baldwin told me his action in becoming bondsman for Cardozo was simply a matter of business. Learned that Hoffman⁹⁰ had been engaged as Correspondent for Union Herald. A variety of conflicting rumors are afloat.

Monday Sept 7 1874 (Started for Columbia. Met a large crowd at the depot; Senators Smalls,⁹¹ Jervay,⁹² Hayne,⁹³ and others. Told Smalls I heard he was opposed to me for the clerkship. Said if anyone was to offer him \$50000 to vote against me he would indignantly decline. Was pleased to hear it, but would be glad to see the offer made and accepted, and the amount equally divided between us. Jim Thompson⁹⁴ told me it had been proposed that the Union Herald Co buy out the R[epublican]. P[rinting]. Co and then go in for the State Printing. Had no objection to that move. Met Leslie at Branchville. He said if Daniel [H. Chamberlain] got firmly fixed in his seat we could have our own way. Had a talk with McLaughlin. Three fourths of those on the train appeared to be in favor of Chamberlain. On my arrival in Columbia I find the feeling not so strong for Chamberlain. Met Dunn; He is a good fellow and infinitely preferable to such a trickster as Chamberlain. Saw Cass Carpenter and he disclaimed any personal feeling against Jones or self but was compelled to attack the Republican Printing Company on account of its relation to corrupt Senators. Carpenter is to be Chamberlains High Priest.)

⁹⁰ Probably E. G. Hoffman, formerly with the *Charleston Daily Republican*.

⁹¹ Robert Smalls of Beaufort, a Negro; member of the Constitutional Convention, 1868; House, 1868-1870; Senate, 1870-1874; Congress, 1875-1879.

⁹² Probably William R. Jervay, colored senator from Charleston.

⁹³ Probably William A. Hayne, mulatto native of Charleston; member of the legislature; active in the Independent Republican movement of 1874.

⁹⁴ James G. Thompson of the Columbia *Union-Herald*.

Thursday Sept 8 1874 Patterson's letter I guess will have a good effect. The State Convention meets today. There will be some fun and excitement. The Convention elected C. M. Wilder⁹⁵ President; myself secretary This seems to indicate a third man. It was said that Scott⁹⁶ would be in the field. Hardy Solomon is also a candidate. John Cochran⁹⁷ says Hardy is a Jew and that would kill his election. Jones arrived and we agreed to print Convention proceeding gratuitously. Saw Governor Moses. He was very cool when I told him I had no money. No doubt he will shake me off if renominated and re-elected. Talked with John Cochran and agreed to stand by him if he would by me John understands me. Heard that Dunn had been taken sick at the hotel

Wednesday Sept 9 1874 Great excitement and quite a big row in the Convention. A number of rowdies with sticks and other weapons, beleived to be in the interest of Moses entered the Convention without tickets. A scuffle between them and the doorkeeper ensued, and the Sergeant at Arms refused to summon a policeman. Lent for dinner for several senators. They ought to be able to pay for their own grub by this time. Cardozo has not yet made much noise in the Convention. I suppose he means to be heard but think he ought to keep quiet. John Cochran appears determined to have a third candidate Chamberlain and Cardozo ought to be taught they do not run the legislature. Would not feel bad if the Convention breaks up in a row without a nomination rather than Chamberlain should get it. Feel dubious about Chamberlain. He is a bloated bondholder or at least in connection with his chum Kimpton.⁹⁸ Gleaves told me he heard I was trying to beat him [for the nomination as lieutenant governor] for Ransier. Said he knew better. Told him the report was circulated by some of my numerous admirers and enemies. I informed him however that I had spoken in the highest terms of both him and Ransier I hoped Ransier would leave the State for Congress. Ed Mackey is a scheming politician.

Thursday Sept 10 1874 Committee on credentials reported in favor of McIntyre's delegation. That insures McIntyre's re-election [to the Senate]. He will be Commissioner of Election sure and can help the count for himself. The result of the vote for Lieutenant Governor will determine in a great measure my prospects for the Clerkship. If Ransier is nominated then Cardozo will whip me with one of his favorites The republican party are in a perilous

⁹⁵ A former slave, United States deputy marshal from Richland County; at one time Columbia postmaster.

⁹⁶ Robert K. Scott, Carpetbagger from Ohio; former army officer; governor of South Carolina, 1868-1872.

⁹⁷ Probably John R. Cochran, a member of the House from Anderson County.

⁹⁸ Hiram H. Kimpton, the recent financial agent of the state in New York.

condition. Would like to see Judge Green⁹⁹ nominated. Nothing can be said against his character and he is no hypocrite. Chamberlain declaimed against his own party against certificates of indebtedness, and home claims, but sang the praises of bondholders, state credit in bonds &c He and Cardozo, and Leslie are a lovely set of Christians. The Charleston case was decided in favor of the Mackey delegation. Liveliest kind of a row may be expected in the Convention tomorrow when this report is made.

Friday Sept 11 1874 Chamberlain will receive the nomination Would much prefer Green or Hardy Solomon. The Charleston Mackey delegation was seated and they propose to vote for Green or Winsmith.¹⁰⁰ The Convention is a remarkable body. The friends of Chamberlain claim that he has a clear majority. Cardozo is Chamberlains engineer. Leslie is keeping very quiet for one of his temper. Ransier's tickets for Lieutenant Governor are in circulation. Neither Ransier or Delany¹⁰¹ stand the shadow of a chance. The Charleston delegates themselves tell me they intend to vote for Gleaves.¹⁰²

Saturday Sept 12 1874 Chamberlain was put in nomination by Cardozo who said the party was sick and needed a physician like Chamberlain. It was a gross libel on the doctors. Ned Mackey led off for Dr Winsmith and made a good sound home speech. Reported Judge Greens and Judge Mackey's¹⁰³ speeches; also Chamberlains and Gleaves. Before the Convention came to a vote a serious disturbance occurred. Poor McKinlay¹⁰⁴ of Charleston nearly lost his mind. During the noise I was approached on the stand and asked to fix roll so that there would be no election on first ballot. Was offered something handsome. The party said a second ballot would nominate Judge Green. I told them I never falsified a clerical report of mine. Chamberlain was nominated by thirtyone majority The scenes that followed were past description. Patterson

⁹⁹ John T. Green, native of Sumter County; circuit judge; served in the legislature before and during the war; supported Rueben Tomlinson, the "Bolting" Republican candidate, for governor in 1872. He lost the nomination to Chamberlain by a vote of 72 to 40; he was then nominated by a Charleston convention of "Independent" Republicans. He was ill during the campaign and died in January, 1875.

¹⁰⁰ John C. Winsmith of Spartanburg, a vice-president of the convention.

¹⁰¹ Martin R. Delany, Virginia Negro, educated in Pennsylvania; reported to have finished the Harvard Medical School; was in turn a physician, editor, African explorer, and major in the Federal army; connected with the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina, but he never held political office.

¹⁰² Delany was from Charleston and Gleaves from Beaufort.

¹⁰³ Thomas J. Mackey, native of Charleston; judge of the sixth circuit; "a wit, a jurist, a politician." Elected to the bench by the Republican legislature, he became an enemy of Governor Moses and in 1876 came out for Wade Hampton.

¹⁰⁴ Probably William McKinlay, mulatto member of the legislature.

and Worthington¹⁰⁵ were all around. They certainly have something on foot for a raid on the Treasury. Gleaves was renominated for Lieutenant Governor by acclamation. The Convention adjourned to Monday morning. Ned Mackey must feel sore.

Sunday Sept 13 1874 Went with J. G. Thompson and Little¹⁰⁶ to Union Herald office and was shown a caricature of Governor Moses breaking all the commandments. It was said to be executed by Parmelee.¹⁰⁷ It was too bad. I must try and make peace with Chamberlain. When a man is king the subjects must obey. [S. W.] Melton carried the day for Chamberlain. He has abused everybody else to make way for Chamberlain and himself for as he says of his partner,¹⁰⁸ its all in the family. Dunn appears dissatisfied. He withdrew from the Convention stating that he could take no further part in its proceedings. The northern republicans take Chamberlains nomination as a great victory over the natives. Saw Whittemore and Solomon together concocting plans for next meeting of legislature.

Monday Sept 14 1874 The Convention adjourned *sine die* at half past six o'clock. The day has been a very exciting one. Dunn, McIntyre and others are organizing a bolt. They have chosen an Executive Committee and propose to hold a convention in Charleston.¹⁰⁹ Saml Lee¹¹⁰ of Sumter is in it. Chamberlain will not have it so easy

Tuesday Sept 15 1874 Think it best to talk business with Judge Melton. The certificate of indebtedness matter is still before the Court. The Supreme Court and [*sic*] continued the matter under advisement. It is said the Chief Justice is still furious about Cardozo's action. A crowd of members of the Convention tried to borrow some money today from me but I could not accommodate them. Chamberlain will find an elephant on his hands unless he makes Cardozo do something. The Supreme Court met today and did nothing. Dunbar failed to prepare his writ. Dunbar wants to go to Washington to contest the cases but I have no money to send him. Cardozo has won and Moses as Governor has lost all power

Wednesday Sept 16 1874 Went over to Sumter today. The negroes there

¹⁰⁵ H. G. Worthington, former member of Congress from Nebraska; former minister to the Argentine Confederation; former law partner of S. L. Hoge in Columbia; collector of the port of Charleston.

¹⁰⁶ John L. Little, clerk in the office of comptroller general.

¹⁰⁷ Possibly Colonel Theodore T. Parmele, a Northerner, appointed superintendent of the penitentiary by Governor Chamberlain.

¹⁰⁸ Melton and Chamberlain were law partners.

¹⁰⁹ E. W. M. Mackey, R. H. Cain, Charleston Negro minister and editor, J. P. M. Epping, and W. A. Hayne were other leaders of the "Independents."

¹¹⁰ A mulatto member of the legislature raised in the family of Chief Justice Moses.

swore they would not support Chamberlain and that if he came there to speak they would not hear him or any of his friends.

Thursday Sept 17 1874 Willie appears confident of getting more payments from Cardozo. I trust he is not mistaken, but fear he is. Left for Charleston in company with a large crowd of the delegates to the Convention. Buttz¹¹¹ was along and felt sure he said of beating Ned Mackey.¹¹²

Friday Sept 18 1874 Had quite an interesting conversation on politics with Messrs Seigling,¹¹³ Parson Yates,¹¹⁴ Barrett Cohen [a Charleston lawyer] and others. Parson Yates said the News could be bought any time. That shows prevalent public opinion of Dawson and Riordan.¹¹⁵ This mornings News contained an attack on Whittemore. Were I a single man, I would like nothing better than a newspaper controversy to show up Dawson & Co. I could easily show and convince the public that the News was more responsible for the present demoralized state of the public morals of South Carolina than any other cause. Dawson & Co have not only participated in the profits and plunder but abused the parties only when they failed to agree upon the price to be paid the News for the use of their columns

Saturday Sept 19 1874 Governor Magrath poked some fun at me this morning and wanted to know if I had got Cardozo in jail yet. Told him no but it was all owing to my counsel Mr Dunbar not taking my advice. A ratification meeting in favor Chamberlain is called for next Thursday.

Sunday Sept 20 1874 Was glad to learn from my son who arrived home this morning that Cardozo paid the office [of the Republican Printing Company] \$300 yesterday. Cardozo is to be at the ratification meeting and address the faithful. I am very uncertain what to do in this campaign. Don't like Chamberlains slippery tactics and hypocrisy. Well I find a man has as many friends as he has dollars, and his friends leave him as fast as his dollars go.

Monday Sept 21 1874 The News has full reports of Judge Green, and it looks as though the Judge might be elected. It is the first matter in which I have agreed with the News for sometime. The [Charleston] Sun sticks to Genl Kershaw¹¹⁶ straightout.¹¹⁷ The News as usual has divided the democrats, in

¹¹¹ Charles W. Buttz, came from Virginia to Charleston, 1870; solicitor of the first judicial circuit, 1872; candidate for Congress, 1874.

¹¹² The certificate of election was given to E. W. M. Mackey; the seat was contested and declared vacant in 1876.

¹¹³ Probably General Rudolph Siegling, Charleston Democrat.

¹¹⁴ Reverend W. B. Yates, for many years chaplain of the Charleston Port Society for Promoting the Gospel among Seamen.

¹¹⁵ Bartholomew R. Riordan, owner, with Dawson, of the *Charleston News and Courier*.

¹¹⁶ Judge J. B. Kershaw, native of Camden, South Carolina.

¹¹⁷ The Independent Republicans were trying to win Democratic support for Green, and the *News and Courier* was giving them some support. Kershaw was being boomed as an out-and-out Democrat, with no compromise with either Republican faction.

favor of Chamberlain. Wonder if Patterson and Neagle have not seen Dawson and Riordan.¹¹⁸

Tuesday September 22 1874 Met Govr Magrath and had a friendly talk with him. He advised me to get out of politics and printing, in other words he thinks I have made enough to be able to retire and not be made a target of any longer. Would like to take the Governor's advice but am too much involved in the State Printing. Would like to finish printing Supreme Court descisions if I could get my money, and then sell out.

Wednesday Sept 23 1874 Arrived in Columbia at five o'clock this afternoon. Met [Willie] Jones who informed me of a conversation with Cardozo in which he agreed to help us if we would help Chamberlain and himself during the campaign. Jones was enthusiastic about it, but failed to excite me in the least. Afterwards saw Cardozo and he said he would give me a call in Charleston.

Thursday Sept 24 1874 Left for Charleston. On the train met Genl [R. B.] Elliott & Georgetown [W. H.] Jones. Red Hot [Jones] said he was not disposed to fight against me for clerkship of the Senate but wanted me to support Green and the Independents. Told him I wanted to be with the winning crowd and was afraid to say or do anything against Chamberlain. In conversation with Mr J Barrett Cohen today he seemed to feel positive of Judge Green's election, and said he knew some of Chamberlains antecedents. Told him I thought lawyers generally didn't mind antecedents, that they only looked for payments. Told him I thought Chamberlain's intellect would carry him through (Cardozo called and proposed to help us, if we would give him an order on the printing for the support of his paper the Union Herald during the Campaign Agreed to the proposal with a proviso that some acknowledgment be made of our generosity.) Would not object to Chamberlain if I thought he would help us get the money appropriated for the R[epublican]. P[rinting]. Co. The ratification meeting at Military Hall [Charleston], resulted in a series of rows, two breakdowns of the stage or platform, [Judge] Tom [J.] Mackey's head nearly broke and at last turned into a Green ratification instead of Chamberlain and Cardozo. Judge Mackey lost his old hat.

Friday September 25 1874 Papers this morning contain a full and accurate account of the meeting last night. Cunningham¹¹⁹ winked at the riotous proceedings last night and let the police do as they pleased. He is in favor of Green. Bowen certainly has not his own way in the city. Judge Mackey wants Ned [E. W. M. Mackey] elected to Congress. Moses I learn sticks to Bowen. Was pleased to see that Cardozo did not get a chance to speak at the meeting last night

¹¹⁸ Intimating that Dawson and Riordan had been bought.

¹¹⁹ George I. Cunningham, Republican mayor of Charleston.

Saturday Sept 26 1874 Have been trying to find out what Cardozo intends to do towards helping us. We must get Cardozo, Owens¹²⁰ & Hardy Solomons all to work. From what rumor says I shall have strong opposition next session for re-election as Clerk. I begin to think it would be as well for me to work outside of the Clerkship and let Cardozo alone. Cardozo wants everything for himself and nothing for anybody else.

(Sunday Sept 27 1874 The Independent Republicans meet tomorrow They may be able to do something if the Commissioners of Election are changed. Feel very blue financially. We will have to give that amount to Cardozo. There is no help for it. Its too bad, but how can we help it. Chamberlain will need all the money he can get before the campaign is over.)

Wednesday Sept 30 The News and the Sun exchange compliments again this morning. We Charleston people will not sustain the Sun nor give it any particular support. Its too straightout for them. Received a dispatch from Columbia saying that Cardozo would leave for New York Friday morning and Jones and self agreed to leave for Columbia tonight. (Met [Willie(?)] Jones at depot. An editorial in the Union Herald made us angry again but it was thought best not to notice it. Jim Thompson and his crowd are doing their best to beat us. They can't do it this time. The members of the General Assembly can't do without us if they wish to help themselves)

Thursday October 1 1874 Arrived in Columbia this morning. Jones and self called on Cardozo at his residence. Cardozo promised to arrange something for us with Hardy Solomon. In an interview with Hardy he said he was unwilling to make any arrangement unless we agreed to take care of a contingent order on our prospective certificates of indebtedness which we had given Moses and upon which he had advanced \$2500. We agreed to compromise by giving him an order on our printing appropriation for \$3000 and he agreed to accept orders of \$500. Left \$250 with Willie for the office and divided balance \$277 between ourselves. Received a letter from Whittemore I forgot to collect his bill and must go to Columbia again next week & endeavor to collect the Southerner's¹²¹ bill. Was so busy that I forgot it, but should have carried out Whittemore's instructions at once. Hardy Solomon, Jones and self had an interesting interview. Don't know whether it will result in anything, but we feel sure of Chamberlain's election. Left for Charleston. McIntyre & Red Hot [W. H.] Jones tried to make me contribute to the expenses of the Independents. Declined to support an uncertainty.

Friday Oct 2 1874 Read an account of Independent's meeting last night. Read like my reports of meetings of the olden times. Passed Hibernian Hall

¹²⁰ Probably Y. J. P. Owens, senator from Laurens County.

¹²¹ Whittemore's Darlington *Southerner*.

[Meeting Street, Charleston] and saw a crowd there, but not very enthusiastic. The Greens appear sanguine of success. I would like to sell out my share in the State Printing. Am sick and tired of it. Do not like the present state officers. The Union Herald will probably get it next winter through Chamberlains efforts. The Convention met today.

Saturday October 3 1874 The Independents are in session. Senator Johnson¹²² of Sumter I learn favors Green. I trust the Senator will be re-elected. We look to Cardozo to help us in our matters. Sent letter enclosing several certificates in exchange for some other paper held by him. If the democrats do not make any nomination Green may be elected or give Chamberlain a close run. Any violence will elect Chamberlain sure.

Sunday Oct. 4 1874 Financial prospects very dark. Received letter from Elliott asking assistance from us. Will have to see [Willie] Jones about him. Elliott expects to be elected member of the House from Aiken County and will be a candidate for speaker¹²³

Monday October 5 1874 The Sun and News are both full of good political reading. Riordan and Dawson claim to represent the Conservatives and the Sun the straight democrats. If I meet Judge Green I will assure him of my sympathy. Jones and self agreed this morning to send a \$500 order to Elliott to help him out with his campaign expenses. Cardozo will want to know how Elliott got that order. Received note from Dr Ensor,¹²⁴ Treasurer of Chamberlains supporters calling upon us for another contribution. Let it remain unanswered for the present. Had a long talk with my old friend Mr Daniel Horlbeck.¹²⁵ He expressed the firm conviction that Judge Green would be elected Governor. Told him I would not feel bad about it.

Tuesday October 6 1874 The papers contained an account of the Green meeting last night; but it appears to me to have been a fiasco. Met Riordan on the street cars. Said nothing but looked at each other too full for expression. I certainly would not ask him for work if compelled to renew my reportorial career. Would like an interest in a newspaper. Sensible people treat me the same as of old. Everybody knows me to be a reporter and if successful in raising my family well I shall be grateful to God for all blessings. The more we brush up with the world, the more liberal we are with others errors and mistakes.

¹²² William E. Johnston, mulatto clergyman and senator.

¹²³ R. B. Elliott resigned from Congress, November, 1874, upon his election as sheriff of Aiken County; he was elected to the House and was speaker during Chamberlain's administration, 1874-1876.

¹²⁴ Dr. Joshua F. Ensor, native of Maryland; medical surveyor for Freedmen's Bureau, 1868; superintendent of state lunatic asylum, 1870-1878.

¹²⁵ Clerk of the United States Circuit Court at Columbia.

Wednesday October 7 1874 Dr. [J. L.] Neagle called and made some offers to exchange orders on printing appropriations for some state bonds held by him Will have to submit Neagles proposition to Cardozo. Neagle told me of Nash's bolt from the regular convention. Neagle hopes to be Comptroller General again in case of Hoge's resignation.¹²⁶ Decided to leave for Columbia tonight. Hoge wants to go to Congress.¹²⁷ Think the State can stand his absence.

Thursday October 8 1874 Arrived in Columbia with Neagle, Dunn, Lee, Dawson and a number of delegates to the Conservative [Democratic] Convention. Went to Cardozo's and got his sign manual to an order for \$500. He promised to pay the Darlington Southerners bill. Don't think Neagle will come to time. Cardozo appears to be playing fast and loose Offered to sell out my interest in the printing with debts due us to Hardy Solomon and Neagle. Proposed to take bankable paper in part, and part cash Could not make a trade. I see by the papers Nash has made a bold and Minort is beaten sure. The Conservatives will no doubt support Nash. Adam Thomas is also supporting Nash. Could make no arrangements with Neagle. He [we(?)] proposed to let him have \$6000 and to collect it for us for \$500 when the taxes become due. Was unable to see it. Did not like the proposition. Cardozo gave me back my certificates and a claim for \$256 62/100 or something of that kind.

Friday Oct 9 1874 Neagles proposition is all humbug. Left for Charleston. On the train met quite a number of taxpayers and Henry Sparnick¹²⁸ Sparnick thought the Republicans could carry Aiken County. Said he hoped Leslie's chances were not good; that he did not want to see him back in the legislature. Also spoke to Blackman¹²⁹ and for the first learned that he was a nephew of Hon. W. D. Porter.¹³⁰ Everytime I meet a phonographer [stenographer] I feel sorry at not sticking to that alone. Dawson and I don't recognise each other, on account of our mutual admiration. Cosgrove said there was but one party now and we could all be radicals without being abused for it. Its hard to judge as to what will be the result of this movement. When intelligence gets to work, there will be lively times and the campaign is apt to be much harder for Chamberlain than he thought. Cardozo intends stumping the State; I wish he would let me have charge of the Treasury during his absence.

¹²⁶ S. L. Hoge was elected comptroller general on the Chamberlain ticket, 1874; resigned, March, 1875, and was replaced by T. C. Dunn.

¹²⁷ He was elected to the forty-fourth Congress, 1875-1877.

¹²⁸ Reporter for the Charleston *Courier* until 1868; became a Republican, established the *Aiken Tribune*, 1871-1875.

¹²⁹ Probably J. K. Blackman, reporter for the *News and Courier*.

¹³⁰ Of Charleston; lieutenant governor, 1865-1867; president of the taxpayers' convention, 1871; a prominent Democrat.

Saturday October 10 1874 Received dispatch from Cardozo asking me to send claim. Sent him a \$1000 claim enclosed in a letter and expressed a willingness to let him have the other divided if he wished. Told Jones of it and he was surprised Said he had already placed in Cardozo's hands a \$2600 claim of his to use for some purpose.

Sunday Oct 11 1874 The campaign is near its close and symptoms of violence in various places have appeared! It looks as though the white people are going to poll a full vote and may beat the rad[ical]s [Republicans] this time Appearances are very promising for Green. Dawson and Riordan are doing good work for Green now and sort of counterbalances their evil propensities How I would like to have an interest in the News. In the evening Col Montgomery called. He thought Green would certainly be elected. Told him I would not regret it

Monday October 12 1874 Was surprised to learn that the Sun had ceased to shine. Thats another chuckle for the News. Its too bad that the News should have such a monopoly. It shows that all the talk of citizens generally supporting a newspaper for the sake of competition is all gas and buncombe. Talked with Fred Miller¹⁸¹ about it and I think he is about right. He said Riordan and Dawson were making a decent living out of the paper and that was all; that they were not making any big fortune. Hutchinson called and asked me to see Hoyt¹⁸² and find out who had control of the funds for Chamberlain's campaign. Said he wanted some to use around Summerville

Tuesday October 13 1874 Talked politics with F. Campbell and Delano¹⁸³ Delano is in favor of Chamberlain but against Bowen's county ticket.¹⁸⁴ Saw Mr. Rouse who said Chamberlain would not be elected

Wednesday October 14 1874 To judge by what the News says Judge Green is sure to be elected. The Union Herald says Chamberlain's prospects are already assured. Introduced Hutchinson to Hoyt. Hoyt told me he intends playing a sharp game, by getting Gaillard to call his meetings of Independents in advance and then Hoyt will call the meetings of the regulars. Left for Columbia this evening.

Thursday October 15 1874 Arrived in Columbia and called on Cardozo this morning. Could do nothing with him. Drew \$500 from Solomon, left

¹⁸¹ Probably F. W. Miller of Charleston, editor and publisher of an advertising sheet, the *City by the Sea*.

¹⁸² William R. Joyt, a Northerner, member of the Senate from Colleton County, 1868-1870.

¹⁸³ Probably J. W. Delano, proprietor of the Charleston *Daily Morning Chronicle*, a Republican newspaper.

¹⁸⁴ C. C. Bowen of Charleston.

\$250 to office and divided balance with Jones. It is feared here that the close of the campaign will be fearful but the Executive Committee claim that Chamberlain will be elected.

Friday October 16 1874 Visited Sumter today and went into the County Convention. Was invited to a seat on the platform by Senator Johnston. Governor Moses was present; also Captain Dunn,¹⁸⁵ Col Tuomey and others. The Convention nominated Senator Johnston for another term and for representatives, Warren Ransay,¹⁸⁶ T. B. Johnston,¹⁸⁷ Westberry,¹⁸⁸ and Andrews. There was a strong undercurrent for Chamberlain. Would like to know what the Barnwell County Convention did today. I trust Charles has not been left out in the cold altogether. Returned to Columbia.

Saturday October 17 1874 Left for Charleston this morning. On the train met McElroy, Judge [S. W.] Melton, Ransier and others. There was a great meeting at Orangeburg. Judge Melton is very anxious to elect Chamberlain. Saw a small meeting of Green men at Reeve's station; not more than thirty or forty, but easily made four hundred by a skilful reporter. Met Cantwell J M at Ridgeville. He was not so sure of McIntyre's re-election. The conductors and others on the road appear to be in favor of Chamberlain. Learned that Leslie received nomination for House of Representatives. If elected he will keep Cardozo straight. Cardozo will not be able to pull the wool over his eyes.

Monday October 19 1874 Nothing of interest in the papers, with the exception of the news that Leslie received the nomination for the House and Middleton¹⁸⁹ made candidate for school commissioner. If Leslie gets to the House, Senator Smiths¹⁴⁰ cake for nominations will be all dough. Talked with Shaffer¹⁴¹ and Grimball today about phonography and politics. They believed Green would be elected and that there would be some lovely reporting for the next two weeks. The election is just two weeks from tomorrow

Tuesday October 20 1874 Wrote letter of congratulation to Leslie. Sisson¹⁴² is sure to be re-elected Reading Clerk; much more certain than I am of election as Clerk. Heard that Ned Mackey had given J W Delano a dreadful beating this morning for some publication in the Chronicle about Mackey's wife. Saw

¹⁸⁵ Possibly T. C. Dunn who was commander of a gunboat during the Civil War.

¹⁸⁶ W. W. Ramsay, member of the House from Sumter.

¹⁸⁷ Member of the House from Sumter.

¹⁸⁸ Probably J. H. Westberry, a Republican, who in 1876 represented Sumter County in the "Wallace House."

¹⁸⁹ Probably B. W. Middleton, member of the legislature from Barnwell County, 1872-1874.

¹⁴⁰ Senator J. M. Smith of Barnwell County.

¹⁴¹ Probably A. C. Shaffer, treasurer of Colleton County.

¹⁴² R. A. Sisson; he was re-elected.

Governor Magrath, Governor Scott, Judge Melton talking together this morning, but could not find out what was up. Tim Hurley wants to be re-elected to the legislature but wants some money to start with.

Wednesday October 21 1874 The News has one of its usual vulgar and scurrilous attacks on Bowen. We people like this sort of Journalism and Bowen's enemies and rivals admire it. Talked with Mr. Patrick Moran on politics. He thinks Mackey will be elected to Congress

Book Reviews

A History of the College of Charleston. By J. H. Easterby. (Charleston: The College of Charleston, 1935. Pp. 379. Illustrations, bibliography, appendix. \$3.50.)

The College of Charleston occupies a place in the educational history of the South that is unique in many respects. Chartered by the general assembly of South Carolina in 1785 and placed under the patronage of the city of Charleston in 1837, it enjoys the distinction of being the oldest institution of higher learning south of Virginia and the first municipal college in the United States. Among its founders were two governors of South Carolina, two signers of the Declaration of Independence, and three fathers of the Federal Constitution. Although interrupted by war, once destroyed by an earthquake, and frequently handicapped by lack of funds, it has in more than one instance been able to number scholars of national reputation among the members of its faculty. Sectional prejudice within the state, the establishment of the University at Columbia, and the belated appearance of middle-class zeal for higher education in Charleston combined for years to keep its student body small, sometimes below ten in number, but its list of graduates reveals a surprisingly large group of names eminent in the political and cultural history of South Carolina. Among its graduates who achieved fame in other states were such figures as Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, James D. B. De Bow, John C. Frémont, and Ludwig Lewisohn. With a physical plant so modest that stoves and grates were not replaced by a central heating system until 1927, it maintained for nearly sixty years an elaborate museum of natural history which, while now organized as a separate institution, is regarded as the oldest of its kind in the United States. Although women students were admitted to its classes in 1918, the College of Charleston has yielded slowly and reluctantly to modern trends in higher education. Its president was able to get along without the assistance of a secretary as late as 1914, courses in teacher training were not accepted for credit toward its bachelor's degree until 1930, and even today its campus can boast of neither a stadium nor a football team.

The history of this institution has been systematically recorded for the first time in the present volume. The author is well-fitted for the task which he has undertaken. In addition to being a local historian of some distinction, he is a graduate of the College of Charleston and has served for the past fifteen years

as a member of its faculty. He has carefully examined the manuscript records of the college—in particular, the journals of the board of trustees, which have been preserved in unbroken order since 1785, and the journals of the faculty, which are extant for the period since 1841—and has used these, together with printed catalogues and files of the Charleston newspapers, as his principal sources. He has handled these sources in a competent manner, and his work, while somewhat prosaic in style and at times overloaded with details, is logically arranged and amply documented.

The chief weakness of the volume arises from the author's tendency to lapse into eulogistic phraseology. This fault is especially apparent in the last two chapters, which deal with the present administration of the College of Charleston. A certain number of encomiums might be expected in a volume which appears to have been more or less officially published by the trustees "on the occasion of the Sesquicentennial Anniversary of the Chartering of the College," but they should have been reduced to a minimum. Another weakness lies in the author's apparent plan of treating the College of Charleston as an isolated unit. Failure to integrate the history of this institution with the general development of education in South Carolina has resulted in a volume which is more local in appeal than the subject deserves.

Such terms as "the Reverend Morritt" (p. 7), "the Reverend Mr. Hezekiah Smith" (p. 9), and "James De Bow" for James D. B. De Bow (p. 117) are somewhat awkward, but in general the volume is free from mechanical errors. A number of illustrations add measurably to the attractiveness of the format. There is a lengthy appendix, containing charters and other documents and a register of the trustees, faculty, and students from 1785 to the present.

JAMES W. PATTON

Converse College

South Carolina Baptists, 1670-1805. By Leah Townsend. (Florence, South Carolina: The Florence Printing Company, 1935. Pp. 391. Bibliography, map. \$3.50.)

The Baptists of colonial America deserve the admiration of the historian. From a few isolated groups, hampered by poverty and political and social disregard, they were able to make steady headway by sheer force of zeal and conviction. Tolerated at best, unable to boast of men of culture and learning, they not only held their ground through the shifts and changes of the formative period of the country but gained ground continually. The few Anabaptists whom S. P. G. missionaries discovered in Carolina at the beginning of the eighteenth century were destined to prove a powerful influence, increasing in numbers by almost geometrical ratio. When the next century opened, the Anglican Church, formerly established by law and favored by the leading men

of the province, found itself unpopular and maligned because of its alleged identification with British interests; while the once poor and despised non-conformist sects were ready to garner adherents in all classes of society.

In 1710 the proportion of Anabaptists to the whole white population of Carolina was said to be one to ten. The most rapid growth occurred in the back country; this fact is partially explained by the shortage of Church of England ministers and the fewness of established churches. At first the Baptists were treated as of little importance; but we find one of their ministers appointed in 1775 to win the back country to the patriots' cause. By the year 1800, the denomination had grown to such an extent that there were some 96 organized congregations, 63 ministers, and 5583 white and Negro communicants. The Baptists had been quietly working their way into strength and power; yet, in spite of their zeal to propagate their faith, there is no appearance of political activity on their part. They were usually men of small means; among them an educated ministry seems never to have been required in those days, although certain individual clergymen showed considerable ability and literary talent. Their church organization being congregational, business meetings furnished an outlet for forensic gifts and trained the members in the usages of direct democracy. The rigid and simple theology had a powerful appeal to the lay mind.

The Baptists were undoubtedly men of great sincerity and earnestness. While repudiating formal creeds, they framed certain covenants or confessions, some of which are eloquent in their simplicity and dignity. One of the articles of the Welsh Neck covenant (August 2, 1760) reads:

"We do promise for ourselves, that if God gives us children to bring up, whether our own or others, that we will use our utmost endeavours, to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; setting good and wholesome examples before them, praying with and for them. That we will keep a strict watch over their conduct and at all convenient seasons, give them such advice, admonition, and correction, as their cases shall appear to require, and that we will take due care to have them taught to read and to learn the catechism; and also that we will use our authority to keep them as much as possible from wicked company and vain pleasures."

Excessive drinking seems to have been regarded as the worst failing of the times; neglect of the church was a close second. Amusement of every kind, especially shooting matches and dancing, called forth severe condemnation. There were outcroppings of heresy at times, but a loyalty to a central ideal ultimately prevailed.

The author has done her work well. The various colonial congregations are separately treated, with a wealth of detail. Next the growth of the denomination during the post-Revolutionary revival is discussed. The concluding chapter is a fair and liberal estimate of the significance of the movement. The book is free from animus and partisanship. The membership rolls and other lists which

have been embodied in the volume render it useful to the genealogist, while the bibliography at the end is remarkably complete—the only conspicuous omissions being the Fulham manuscripts and the S. P. G. records, in which many allusions to the "Anabaptists" may be found.

EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON

Ocala, Florida

Virginia Historical Index. Volume I, A-K. By E. G. Swem. (Roanoke, Virginia: The Stone Printing and Manufacturing Company, 1934. Pp. xx, 1118. \$50.00.)

The *Virginia Historical Index* of which volume I has appeared was inaugurated in 1927 and made possible by subscriptions of sixteen members of the Virginia Historical Society and a subsequent grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The first volume contains 1118 pages: it is beautifully printed and in every sense is most attractively done from a mechanical point of view. The second volume, which is expected soon, will be approximately of the same size. The two together will make an invaluable addition to any library of consequence, especially one whose readers are interested in the history of Virginia or in the broader field of American history.

The whole will constitute an index of 120 volumes of most important publications which contain material bearing on the history of Virginia. Of these publications, two are the official organs of the Virginia Historical Society, namely, the *Virginia Historical Register* and the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. The first consists of 6 volumes published 1848 to 1853; the second embraces 38 volumes in two series, published 1893 to 1930. Another valuable publication covered in the *Index* is the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, in two series, published 1893 to 1930. Also there is *Tyler's Historical and Genealogical Quarterly*, 10 volumes, from 1919 to 1929; the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 11 volumes, 1652 to 1869; the well known and invaluable *Hening's Statutes of Virginia*, 13 volumes, covering the period from 1619 to 1792; and finally there is the lesser known but valuable *Lower Norfolk County Antiquary*, in 5 volumes, 1895 to 1906.

These 120 volumes deal particularly with the Colonial period. In consequence most of the entries of the *Index* relate to that period, although every phase of Virginia history during 300 years is represented in this comprehensive work. The compiler believes that the Colonial period is far from exhausted and thinks its study has only been begun. He thinks rightly that the later history of Virginia cannot be understood without better knowledge of the Colonial period, and says that the 120 volumes represented in this *Index* have been selected because they do relate chiefly to the Colonial period.

The work of indexing has been most completely done. It required patience,

thoroughness, accuracy, and imagination of high order. Because it is so completely and attractively done, although it is an index, it is fascinating to consult. If one should turn, for instance, to any county in which he might be interested, he would find a wealth of information suggested to him. As an example, there is a very rich variety of references on all important families of Albemarle County. There are many entries under the heads militia, sheriffs, justices, and under "See also" names of towns, creeks, rivers, mountains, schools, including the University of Virginia.

Turning to educational subjects, one finds nearly a column dealing with academies, and under "See also" the names of many different schools are listed. There are nearly two columns of entries under colleges, with references to a long list of institutions of learning and to such subjects as degrees, diplomas, and the honor system. And finally, under the topic education, there is something like a column and a half of references to many items of the greatest interest, such as the education of Virginians in England, the education of women, the education of women in England, plans for university, plans for education of Negroes, etc. A wealth of information is opened up under the heading churches. Six columns are given to that subject, including a whole column of names of individual churches.

Although the volume under review is an *Index*, nevertheless it is so finely done that it tempts one to read it column by column; it is also satisfying when consulted about particular matters. After a rather patient examination of this work, no fault can be found with the way in which it has been done and with the results which have been accomplished. One has to extend his hearty congratulations and appreciation to Dr. Swem for his thorough work, to guarantors and to the printer—all of whom seem to have co-operated splendidly in order to produce a work which will be a great service to all students of Virginia and American history and a credit to the scholarship of the state of Virginia.

DICE R. ANDERSON

Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia

The Colonial Period of American History. The Settlements, I. By Charles M. Andrews. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934. Pp. xiv, 551. \$4.00.)

The appearance of the first volume of Professor Andrews' *The Colonial Period of American History* marks the end of an old era and the beginning of a new epoch in Colonial historiography. In this monumental work the author attempts to place the colonies "in their rightful historical setting" in relation to Great Britain and the British Empire, and views them "not from within," as has been the common procedure of American Colonial historians, "but from without" the narrow limits of the Atlantic seaboard and the first American frontier. The problem, then, has been approached from the English side of the

Atlantic rather than the American, for the colonies were officially a part of the British Empire until the successful termination of the revolution that separated the very rapidly maturing youth from the parent nation. The author successfully describes many of those aspects of early American life which for the most part have been overlooked or neglected by past historians, and from the old view of Colonial history the space given to some topics is no doubt out of proportion to their importance, but the historian of the present day and of the future must sooner or later come to the realization that they should be an important part of his regular stock in trade.

Volume I opens with three chapters (77 pages) devoted to a discussion of the European background of American colonization, a section marked by an especially strong chapter analyzing the factors which influenced early settlement in the New World. Immediately following is a single chapter (19 pages) in which is discussed the settlement, the trials and tribulations, and the final abandonment of the experiment at Sagadahoc. A third section of six chapters (115 pages) traces the history of the Old Dominion from the time of the founding of Jamestown to the coming of Governor William Berkeley in 1641, a complete discussion of that formative period of early Virginia. Closely allied with the affairs of the Virginia company was the settlement of Bermuda, and two chapters (34 pages) portray its history through the period of the Bermuda Company until the islands came under the royal prerogative in 1684. Nine chapters (250 pages) tell the story of the coming of the Pilgrims and others to the eastern shore of New England, and follow the development of their settlements to the beginning of the commonwealth period in Massachusetts in 1652. In the midst of his discussion of New England Professor Andrews inserts one chapter (19 pages) depicting "The Lure of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia."

The series, as illustrated by the first volume, promises not to be a synthesis of all the accumulated knowledge of this period of American development, but rather a somewhat factual interpretation of the development of those English colonies on the Atlantic in their relationship to the mother country. From the vantage point of years of broad scholarship Professor Andrews' interpretation is on a much higher level than that usually attained by writers on the Colonial period. He shows keen insight into the life and problems of that time and usually manifests an impartial and judicial spirit. Especially penetrating and illuminating are his chapters dealing with the factors influencing colonization and those dealing with the life cycle of the London and Massachusetts Bay companies. Fine discrimination is displayed in the selection and use of sources, which he cites with remarkable and assuring frequency. In style the volume is excellent, as readable as fiction and as interesting as romance.

Professor Andrews gives the reviewer little opportunity for criticism, though in justice to the period it must be admitted that there are several omissions

of consequence. The voyage of Bartholomew Gosnold in 1603 is not discussed, though his expedition was one of some consequence. The Massachusetts Education Act of 1647 is not mentioned though it founded a public school system which had great effect upon the future educational development of the nation. The John Smith legend is perhaps accepted too readily by the author, who, at the time the volume was written had not had the benefit of the investigations of Professor Morse (see *Journal of Southern History*, May, 1935). To the reviewer, however, the most serious charge regards the total lack of illustrative map material. The work is evidently intended for the student of history as well as for the serious-minded layman and the omission of maps is a serious handicap to the reader. In conclusion it is quite just to state that the author, the Dean of the American historians of the Colonial era, has now begun what will no doubt become the "standard" work upon the pre-national period of American history.

EDWIN ADAMS DAVIS

Louisiana State University

The Transylvania Colony. By William Stewart Lester. (Spencer, Indiana: Samuel R. Guard and Company, 1935. Pp. xv, 288. Bibliography. \$3.00.)

The Transylvania colony was born in ambition, worked itself out in a maze of uncertainties, and ended in disappointment. The histories thereof have quite generally followed the same course. The book under review has the positive merits of industriously examining the sources, of presenting the facts coherently, and of relating the story with vigor and animation.

In a large measure its animation is inspired by animosity. The preface announces (in a sentence of fourteen lines) that the book "undertakes to prove" the Transylvania project unlawful, and the succeeding chapters have sometimes less the appearance of a history of Transylvania than of a diatribe against its founder. In addition to other expletives, Richard Henderson is referred to (p. 82) as "a dreamer, an idealist, inordinately ambitious, introverted, an archegotist, and inclined to be pompous." Throughout the book the achievements of Henderson are consistently denied, and his motives and acts are attacked with all the fervor of an evangelist.

The author devotes a considerable amount of space to attempts at proving that the Henderson purchase was illegal and that the Transylvania colony was an attempt to set up a sovereign, independent government. Neither space nor propriety will permit the reviewer to argue these points. He wishes merely to point out that Henderson himself disavowed ideas of independence and repeatedly acknowledged the authority of Virginia and North Carolina. He offered no opposition to the creation of Kentucky County by Virginia. If we condemn the Boonesborough Convention as an act of sovereignty, we must

also condemn the Mayflower Compact; both were emergency devices for preserving order in the absence of constituted authority.

But Henderson did claim ownership of the land, a claim that has nothing to do with sovereignty. As to the purchase, the author's reasoning seems to be that the Cherokee had no land to sell, that they sold this land they did not have to Henderson, and that Henderson did not buy the land which the Cherokee sold him. The ideas of the author in regard to Indian ownership of land seem strangely at variance with those set forth by the Supreme Court in the case of *Worcester vs. Georgia*; his denial of Cherokee title to the land west of the Kentucky River ignores the Lochaber treaty which explicitly recognized such title. Like a great many others before him, he asserts that the purchase at Sycamore Shoals was a violation of the Proclamation of 1763 and of the colonial statutes. It could not have been a violation of both inasmuch as the Proclamation itself put an end to Colonial statutes in the Indian country. The reviewer accepts as a fact the statement of Mann Butler that Lord Mansfield had advised Henderson that his purchase was not contrary to the Proclamation, and he takes it for granted that Henderson, in common with the other speculators of his time, knew of the Camden-Yorke opinion. The author is skeptical of both. It is the opinion of the reviewer that after the Treaty of Ft. Stanwix any lawyer could have driven a coach-and-four through the Proclamation as far as the territory between the Ohio and Tennessee was concerned. The author fails to explain why Dunmore failed to mention the Proclamation in his denunciation of Henderson, nor does he comment on the legal basis of the Harrodsburg settlement which was as much beyond the line as Boonesborough was.

In his handling of background material the author makes several erroneous statements. The Lochaber treaty line at no point touched the 35th parallel (p. 13); the Loyal Land Company did *not* have a royal charter (p. 48); the Ohio Company did *not* agree to establish forts at the mouth of the Kanawha and near Pittsburgh (p. 49); Gist did *not* come down the Ohio in the spring of 1751 (p. 50); Boone did *not* go to Kentucky in 1774 in order to warn prospective settlers (p. 55); Dinwiddie did *not* join in the petition of the Ohio Company (p. 158); and the Ohio Company was *not* merged with the Walpole Company (p. 159). Nor was it *Henry* Cabot who discovered America in 1497 (p. 152).

The book has a bibliography which may be described as good but not complete. Excellent use has been made of the Draper manuscripts and of the pertinent official records of Virginia. Quotations from these materials are so copious as to make the volume almost a source book. It is to be regretted that a work of such potential utility was not provided with an index.

R. S. COTTERILL

Florida State College for Women

Richard Allen: Apostle of Freedom. By Charles H. Wesley. (Washington: The Associated Publishers, 1935. Pp. xi, 300. Frontispiece, bibliography. \$2.15.)

Richard Allen, founder and first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was born a slave in Philadelphia in 1760. He was permitted by his master to purchase his freedom, which he was able to accomplish in 1777—the year in which he was converted to Methodism. Within a few years Allen was considered as a licentiate in the Methodist Church and by 1784 was invited by Bishop Asbury to accompany him on a trip into the Carolinas and Georgia. Because the Negroes of Philadelphia did not receive fair treatment in the churches belonging to the whites, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones took the lead in 1787 in the formation of the Free African Society, which had the “characteristics of a benevolent and reform organization.” This society was the first group organized by Negroes and for Negroes in the United States, and from this body developed the first Episcopal and the first Methodist churches for Negroes.

In 1794 Allen organized an independent Methodist Church called Bethel which was dedicated by Bishop Asbury. The union of this congregation with Negro churches in other places became in 1816 the national organization of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Allen, who had been ordained in 1799, became the first bishop and served until his death in 1831. Although never considered a great preacher he was an excellent organizer, and by 1836 the African Methodist Episcopal Church was flourishing with more than 7500 members and property valued at \$125,000.

Allen's altruistic interests were far wider than his work as a preacher and a bishop. Seeing the advantage for the Negro of trained citizenship, he took an active part in establishing schools for the education of both children and adults. Together with Absalom Jones, Allen aided in the formation of a Masonic lodge and served as its treasurer. His work during the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia in 1793 received high praise from Dr. Benjamin Rush. Allen was especially active in protesting against the plans of the American Colonization Society to deport Negroes to Africa. He believed that the free Negro was a desirable member of society and that he should resist deportation. To secure this end he assembled the strength of his church in favor of the antideportation movement as well as the antislavery fight. In the closing days of his life Allen participated in the Negro convention movement. First among the organizers of Negro unity, he sought to teach the “lessons of independent organization, Christian brotherhood and racial self-respect.” Richard Allen must be regarded as one of the truly great men of his race. His success depended in a large measure upon his tremendous business acumen. Having engaged in many enterprises, he left an amazing legacy of some \$40,000.

In Dr. Wesley's effort to write a critical biography of this versatile Negro leader it is to be regretted that he did not use greater care. Footnotes and bibliography were handled carelessly and inconsistently. For example, "Embury" (p. 139) should be "Embry" and "Susie I. Shorter" (p. 160) is correct as "Susan L. Shorter" (p. 284). "Lionel H. Kennedy and Thomas Parker" (p. 186) are included in the bibliography as "Kennedy, Lionel and P. Thomas." Some books included in the footnotes are not listed in the bibliography and vice versa. The author and title of several references are presented in varying forms. Despite the criticisms made one closes the book with admiration for the subject under consideration and appreciation to the author for this study of a Negro leader of more than a century ago.

WALTER B. POSEY

Birmingham-Southern College

The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803: A Study in Trade, Politics, and Diplomacy. By Arthur Preston Whitaker. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, for the American Historical Association, 1934. Pp. vii, 342. \$3.50.)

In the volume under review, the author, who has been long and favorably known to the historical guild as a specialist on the history of the Old Southwest, has added another extremely valuable work to his already impressive list of excellent publications in that particular field of American history. He recognizes at the beginning, as the subtitle of the work indicates, the fundamental fact that it is utterly impossible to separate entirely the threads of "trade, politics, and diplomacy" in a thorough study of any international question so complicated as the one under consideration. With this fact in mind he has successfully unraveled the various threads of the subject from the Treaty of San Lorenzo to the final transfer of Louisiana to the United States, and has then rewoven them into a complete pattern which leaves little to be desired by the reader. The very complication of the "Mississippi Question" appears to have been accepted by the author as a challenge; he has completely met the challenge, and has handled the subject with the skill of a master in the field.

The study is satisfyingly thorough and complete on every phase of the subject. The pertinent documentary materials in the public archives of Spain, France, and the United States, and the private correspondence of many of the leaders in the various phases of the movement, as well as the contemporary newspapers, have all been thoroughly searched for materials. The vast array of documentary materials cited in the "Notes" indicates that no available source that could throw any light upon the subject has been left unexplored. The author sticks close to his sources, and uses them with the critical attitude of the trained historian. Though he does not hesitate to differ in his conclusions from the

findings of other writers who have preceded him in the same field, he is always careful to cite the documentary sources upon which his conclusions are based; and he points out in a kindly manner the errors or shortcomings in the works of the writers with whom he feels compelled to differ.

The volume supplies a long felt need on the subject with which it deals, and it should long remain the standard work in that field of American history. No student who wishes to acquire a detailed knowledge of the "Mississippi Question" can afford to neglect this volume. The American Historical Association, under whose auspices the work has been published, is to be congratulated upon the publication of another scholarly volume, which but for the assistance of the Association might not have found its way into print.

The grouping of all the citations of sources and the explanatory notes to accompany the text in a separate section at the end of the volume detracts seriously from the usefulness of the work. While the author may not be responsible for this arrangement, the reviewer feels that it should be registered as a defect, as footnotes would make the work so much more usable. Besides the "Notes," there is a "Bibliographical Note," a "List of Abbreviations," an "Index of Authors," and a "General Index" to the volume, all of which are very complete. The printers have done a good job and have produced an attractive volume. A very few typographical errors have been noted, but these detract little from the work.

WALTER PRICHARD

Louisiana State University

With Milam and Fannin: Adventures of a German Boy in Texas' Revolution.

By Herman Ehrenberg, translation by Charlotte Churchill. (Dallas: Tardy Publishing Company, 1935. Pp. xv, 224. Frontispiece, illustrations. \$1.50.)

With Milam and Fannin is a translation of a story written by Herman Ehrenberg and published in Germany in 1843 depicting his experiences in the Texas revolution. The story first appeared under the title *Texas und seine Revolution* at a time when much interest in Texas colonization was being aroused in Germany. Ehrenberg's book appeared under a new title in 1844 and was published again in 1845 under a third title. In the translation Miss Churchill has omitted various parts of the story "to eliminate unessential details," as the preface states.

Herman Ehrenberg was a young German who came to the United States in 1835 and finally reached New Orleans late that year just when there was great excitement over the oncoming struggle for the independence of Texas from Mexico. On October 11, 1835, he joined a band of volunteers known as the New Orleans Greys, sixty-five men in all, speaking the tongues of five European

and three American groups. Seventeen of the American states furnished forty-eight of the men.

After this first company of New Orleans Greys had reached San Antonio in November and joined the Texan forces encamped there, they participated in the storming of the Alamo under Colonel Ben Milam, witnessed the surrender of General Cos on December 10, and occupied the Alamo on the 12th after Cos and his soldiers had started on their march back to Mexico.

The second part of the story begins with the expedition planned by the occupants of the Alamo against Matamoros. The march of the troops carried them down the San Antonio River to Goliad and thence to Refugio, where the men wanted to await the arrival of Colonel Fannin with troops and supplies. When Fannin finally reached Refugio from Copano, he expressed his opposition to the Matamoros expedition and went to Goliad to await the enemy.

The story then relates the untimely fate of several small groups of volunteers—the Tampico Blues, Johnson's men, Grant's men, and King's men—and follows these incidents with the news of the fall of the Alamo. On March 18 (both Ehrenberg and the translator say April 18) Fannin's forces retreated from Goliad. They were overtaken on the Coleto that same day, defended themselves valiantly, surrendered the next day, were returned to Goliad as prisoners, and on the 27th they were massacred on the banks of the San Antonio. Ehrenberg was one of a few to escape, shouting in undying faith "The republic of Texas for ever!" as he jumped into the river and swam to safety.

The translation is free and fair and achieves its purpose, no doubt, but the reviewer believes that Ehrenberg's complete story would have been read with as much interest as the abridged translation. A complete translation would have been a more worthwhile addition to the Texana of the past.

R. L. BIESELE

University of Texas

Back from Goliad. By G. W. Barrington. (Dallas: The Southwest Press, 1935. Pp. 152. Frontispiece. \$1.50.)

Back from Goliad is based on the first half of J. C. Duval's *Early Times in Texas*. It is a story of the adventures which Duval had as a young Kentucky volunteer in the cause of Texan independence. Duval, whose book was published in Austin, Texas, in 1892, was over half a century removed from the stirring times of the Texas revolution, but he was still very near to the scenes of that great national drama. He wrote his story in the first person and told it as one who considered himself a participant in a noble cause, doing what was expected of him.

Barrington's story is an abridgment of Duval's in that from time to time whole passages of greater and less length are omitted. Duval used twenty-two

pages to get the Kentuckians to the Texas shore and safely landed at Copano, while Barrington requires but five. It is also an enlargement in the sense that Barrington has lengthened portions of the story by the addition of conversation. Four and a half pages tell Duval's story of the battle of the Coleto and one page relates his escape from the massacre at Goliad, while six pages and three, respectively, comprise Barrington's adaptation. But whether shorter or longer, Barrington's story is always an adaptation and places his hero in the foreground. The adaptation reaches the point of "canned goods," the "softness of the cushioned chairs," and "the springy friendliness of the beds" in the home of a planter who had fled before Santa Anna's army. Barrington tries to win the attention of the reader at the very beginning and to hold it to the end. Witness the use of such expressions as "minutes of nerve-wracking strain," "seconds of breath-taking uncertainty," and "a half minute of complete helplessness" in depicting the crossing of the bar at Aransas Pass, and of "slashing the oncoming line" and "rifles speaking in a steady crackling" in the battle of the Coleto.

Duval was not alone in escaping from the massacre of Goliad nor in the disappointment of not taking part in driving the Mexicans out of Texas. After his escape at Goliad he had some very harrowing experiences, and when he finally reached the San Bernard he learned that Santa Anna had been defeated about a week before. A month later Duval returned to Kentucky. He was "back from Goliad."

R. L. BIESELE

University of Texas

Grand Prairie. By James K. Greer. (Dallas: Tardy Publishing Company, 1935. Pp. iv, 284. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

Professor James K. Greer achieves in *Grand Prairie* the type of social history which the past fifteen years have promised but never quite produced. It is startling to find, within the pages of its very unimpressive binding, this book which clearly surpasses in total effect practically all of the more smoothly written but stereotyped social histories of recent publication date. To the many open-minded readers who have hitherto emerged from a study of volumes of this type with blurred impressions, *Grand Prairie* can be recommended as presenting a clear-cut and, in places, a vivid picture of "some of the economic and social conditions and movements of the Grand Prairie region of Texas between 1850 and 1890."

The Grand Prairie comprised what is now the Gainesville-Fort Worth-Stephenville-Waco region, south of Red River and north of Belton and lying in irregular fashion between the ninety-seventh and ninety-ninth degrees of longitude—a section with topographical and vegetative unity which gave it common frontier problems throughout. When Texas came into the Union in 1846, the

line of extreme western settlement had reached the central counties of this physiographic subdivision of the state. It advanced farther in ante-bellum days, but fell back in 1866 because of Indian depredations in the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. By 1880 agriculture had come "to have an appreciable part in the economic life of the region," and by 1890 the designation frontier was no longer applicable—"there were less longhorns and more sheep . . . fewer fields of bluebonnets and more fields of grain."

When the ten chapters of the narrative are finished, a frontier people have become familiar, and one has come to know how they lived and to understand something of their problems. They were "an excellent cross section of those who still lived in the States," with perhaps a majority of the settlers being from the South and possessing a Scotch-Irish ancestry. They lived in houses whose style of architecture was largely determined by the influence of the region from which they had migrated, while bread and meat were the principal bases of their diet. Their attitudes were very similar to those possessed by settlers along other western frontiers in America, and included a growing optimism, an emphasis on a man's present claims to recognition as opposed to those based on family connections, and a religion that was "quite as important an item in his life as were his food and shelter." Visiting, trips to town for supplies, a few newspapers and books, and county court days prevented the young men of Grand Prairie from becoming "self-conscious young savages," but there was less social relaxation for the women. Indeed, from the standpoint of readability, one of the high points of the book is reached in the chapter "Frontier Daughter."

By the end of the period the Grand Prairie had seen the transformation of the range country into a land of farmers and dairy herds. "Varmints and pests," including those of the Indian variety, had been subdued. "The destruction of the Buffalo, the completion of the railways, and the passing of the cotton frontier" had resulted in creating "the propagating ground of social panaceas." With the economic advancement for which the pioneer had labored had come a change in the character of the population which he deplored: "The average person in the usual community was now different. Too frequently he allowed his sense of moral or social obligation to become atrophied by selfish considerations. Formerly merit, achievement, and native gifts formed the basis for distinguishing a man." In this passage, as in several other instances, one wonders whether Professor Greer is presenting his own point of view or that of a typical frontiersman, or both.

The author, who fortunately has combined historical training with long years of personal observation of the region he describes, uses the personal pronoun *I* in unfolding his story. *I* represents "the typical son of the less poverty stricken frontiersman, who, born about 1850 . . . emigrated to the border of settlement during the middle fifties." The result, while not completely successful because

of the difficulties of maintaining stylistic consistency and because of a too obvious effort to include the personal pronoun in a few instances, is commendable. The personal touch adds flavor to the reading of the book but detracts nothing from its authenticity because a very sound piece of research is back of the method of presentation. This had led the reviewer to hope that, in view of the author's failure to give complete documentation and make an exhaustive treatment of the topics herein treated (neither of which was necessary for the purposes of this volume), he may perhaps contemplate the publication of a more fully rounded study of this section he knows so well. Such a volume would be doubly interesting to those who have long subscribed to the dictum that "the frontier and the section are two of the most fundamental factors in American history," for it would consider both. It need not necessarily be less entertainingly written than *Grand Prairie* and might attain a more complete perspective by indication of interrelationships existent between the various phases of life in the region. Such interrelationships in social history have occasionally been pointed out by essayists and novelists, such as Aldous Huxley, but have been neglected by all except a very few historians.

The least successful phase of *Grand Prairie* is in the author's mode of expression; his originality in choice of phraseology occasionally fails to match that of attack on his problem. Slight tendencies toward awkwardness and triteness—none acute but still noticeable—mar a style which is otherwise direct and compact.

Even if the beginning of the celebration of the Texas Centennial has apparently placed Texas book companies under the necessity of rushing scores of historical works—a few praiseworthy but mostly the result of potboiling—helter-skelter into the bookstalls, this one book deserved, but did not receive, an attractive and suitable binding and type.

WILLIAM R. HOGAN

Regional Historian,
State Park Division of National Park Service

Party Politics in Alabama from 1850 through 1860. By Lewy Dorman. (Montgomery: Publication of The Alabama State Department of Archives and History, 1935. Historical and Patriotic Series No. 13. Pp. 240.)

The paucity of monographic studies on any period of Alabama history renders this small volume a most welcome addition. In two prefatory chapters the author discusses the geography and sectional divisions of Alabama and the status of political parties just prior to 1850. The secession movement of 1850, the resultant disintegration of parties, the Union victory, and later reorganization of the old parties occupy the next two chapters. The Know-Nothing movement receives full notice in an especially good chapter. After dealing with

the election of 1856 the author explains the transition to the one-party system, the road which led to secession. The situation in 1860 is given very clear and detailed notice.

Nearly every man of any importance in Alabama politics receives a paragraph or sentence placing him as to political allegiance and attitude on current questions. In a decade when events moved so rapidly and party alignments shifted so frequently, such information is most helpful. The author has brought together in compact form an amazing amount of facts, and has elucidated many complicated and little understood questions.

The monograph is written almost entirely from newspaper sources; an unfortunate fact, for the inner workings of politics were never revealed in the columns of the press. The author has used most of the manuscript material available in the Alabama Department of Archives, though it is insufficient in amount to meet the needs of such a study. The reviewer would not, however, criticize him for failing to use what does not exist. The work suffers greatly from want of skillful writing. Many ideas are awkwardly expressed and the narrative often seems joined without much continuity. There is not so much interpretation as would be desirable and even imperative in making a work of this nature most useful. Portions of the narrative seem to be an undigested detailing of facts.

Despite the limitations which have handicapped the author, he has handled with such understanding a large and complex body of materials, and has presented a most valuable survey of a difficult period, for which students of Alabama and Southern history will be eternally grateful.

RUTH A. KETRING

Duke University Library

The Lincoln Legend: A Study in Changing Conceptions. By Roy P. Basler. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935. Pp. xiii, 336. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

Most modern readers are aware that the "true Lincoln" is partly lost in a nimbus of accumulated legend and fiction. Mr. Basler's task is to tag and label the legend, pin it down, strip the false from the genuine, and summon historical evidence as a check upon the fiction makers, be they poets, biographers, caricaturists, novelists, dramatists, or merely the "folk mind." After the assassination there quickly arose the tendency to lift Lincoln into the sky as folk hero, a tendency which, as Mr. Basler shows, finds its parallel in the "myth of the dying god" which may be traced, as in Frazier's *Golden Bough*, to primitive origins, and which is matched by examples in the folklore of ancient Egypt, in Grecian myths, and in the Arthurian cycle. In the fame of Lincoln, as in

the legends of Balder, Osiris, or Arthur, a folk tendency has been at work. Thus the Lincoln legend harks back to a universal principle of myth making.

Mr. Basler's study was planned as a literary treatment, an essay on the Lincoln of literature, and it remains principally that. At the same time it was found desirable to include "non-literary matter," chiefly biographies, whose contribution to the legend is considerable. Indeed the author's first solid undertaking is to review the biographers, from the fictional *Pioneer Boy* by Thayer to Holland, Lamon, Herndon, Nicolay and Hay ("quoted oftener than . . . read"), and on down to Tarbell, Charnwood ("the best combination of criticism and admiration yet to appear"), Stephenson, Barton, Sandburg's "epic of the prairies," and Beveridge. Close upon the biographers (embarrassingly close) are the yarn spinners and makers of Lincoln joke books; next we have the poets which include shining names such as Lowell, Whitman, Stedman, Markham, and Benét, together with a number of chirping sparrows. Among the novelists special attention is given to Churchill, Eggleston, Dixon, Davies, Bernie Babcock, and Honoré Willie Morrow. It is remarked that Dixon, in *The Southerner*, treats Lincoln as an essentially Southern contribution, and by making him a Southern gentleman, "at once vindicates his hero and Southern chivalry." Dixon's romancing at this point has of course been questioned; his picture merely illustrates the variety of diverse fictional concepts of the man Lincoln.

In showing how Lincoln was viewed by the men of his time the author studies the estimates of Greeley (who attained no conception of Lincoln's power till after his death); Bryant, who could eulogize without extravagance; Wendell Phillips, to whom Lincoln was "a first-rate second-rate man"; Everett, Emerson, Hawthorne, and Motley, each of whom had his distinctive comment.

In taking the legend apart and examining its component elements, Mr. Basler presents a number of interesting, though not unfamiliar, conclusions. He makes his reader aware that in "Nancy Hanks and the boy," which he calls pure legend, in the frontier hero ("big buck of the lick"), and in the Ann Rutledge tradition (attributed to Herndon's postwar inventiveness), Lincoln writers have followed and still follow a tendency to fit the picture to popular demand. So it was also with Lincoln's religion on which the public would not accept Lamon's realistic rendering; so it has been with Lincoln the emancipator in which the portrait of history has been extensively retouched. All told it is a little volume that needed to be written; and, though the author borrows the conclusions of others while doing little historical research of his own, the book is to be recommended to the general reader for its clarification and perspective in viewing the overwhelming literary output on the Lincoln theme.

J. G. RANDALL

University of Illinois

William Mahone of Virginia: Soldier and Political Insurgent. By Nelson Morehouse Blake. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1935. Pp. xv, 323. \$3.00.)

The career of a man so amazing and unorthodox as that of Mahone was destined to arouse controversy. The biography here presented covers the controversy and achievement in a very complete fashion. Unfortunately almost every detail of private and family life has been omitted, although material was apparently limited for this aspect. The organization of the book is at once chronological and topical as the chapter headings reveal: The Youth, The Builder, The Soldier, The Reconstructionist, The Railroad Magnate, The Political Aspirant, The Readjuster, The Senator, The Party Leader, The Man.

The author obviously has exerted every effort to bring together and round out the scattered and scanty information regarding Mahone's parentage, childhood, and youth. At the very outset the man's life was out of line with the Southern tradition. The son of a tavern keeper and small slaveowner, he grew up carefree, independent, and possessed of initiative.

That initiative and energy were displayed in his work as engineer and railroad president before the Civil War; in his notable military career during the war, and in his work of practical reconstruction following the conflict. In the struggle for railroad consolidation and the later fight for readjustment of the Virginia state debt Mahone stands out as a farseeing man who had put the past behind him and was giving his best thought to the most rapid means of rehabilitating his state. This is the most admirable portion of Mahone's life.

His career in politics was spectacular throughout. As the leader of the Readjustment movement he built up a party machine that was most efficient, did much for the state, and sent Mahone to the United States Senate. There, holding the balance of power, he threw his weight with the Republicans in the belief that his action would benefit Virginia, but in so doing antagonized many constituents. Reviled as he was, his action was consistent and natural. But the peak of achievement had been reached; power brought its failures, broken promises and dissensions, and at the end of his career in 1889, his party was almost gone. Mahone was emphatically a man of the postwar era, and in many of his ideas seemed scarcely a Southerner, though his devotion to Virginia cannot be questioned.

The chief criticism of the book lies in the fact that Mahone is presented in too favorable a light. He is the hero of every incident and situation. It is equally true that he has for fifty years been a much maligned figure standing in need of a defender and rehabilitator. Nevertheless, a good work has been carried a little too far, for, though the author takes care to make a frank admission of Mahone's failures and shortcomings, he does so in a manner which subordinates them and relegates them to a short and compact passage. The

author has particularly strained a point in an honest but overzealous attempt to give Mahone his due as a military hero. The result is unconvincing. While the organization is admirably clear, the narrative is unrelieved as political events crowd one upon the other in rapid succession. Whatever is of an anecdotal nature is relegated to the footnotes. There are occasional minor errors of repetition and split infinitives, and one of name: James A. Seddons rather than Seddon. The use of the term "War Between the States" will certainly not meet with universal approval. The reviewer can see nothing to justify it.

The volume is based chiefly upon the Mahone Collection, a large body of correspondence, scrapbooks, pamphlets, and other materials. This is supplemented by other sources, including many newspapers. The text is thoroughly and voluminously documented. Not everyone will agree with the author's favorable interpretation of his subject, but certainly Mahone has now been vindicated by the flood of light which this volume turns upon his achievements. The index (compiled by Mary Parker Ragatz) is admirably complete and a joy to use.

RUTH A. KETRING

Duke University Library

Thomas Duckett Boyd: The Story of a Southern Educator. By Marcus Wilkerson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1935. Pp. 374. Frontispiece. \$2.50.)

The result of the Civil War on higher education in the South would be good material for an interesting book. We know that prior to the war many Southern planters sent their sons to the North, or even to Europe, for education; but with the defeat and economic collapse in the South the picture was changed. No better commentary on the struggle for higher learning in the New South can be found than in the life of Thomas Duckett Boyd by Wilkerson.

Louisiana State University had been founded in 1860 with W. T. Sherman as its first president. Sherman had watched the construction of the house which was to be his home, and had written glowingly to Mrs. Sherman how they would rear their children in the friendly Southern atmosphere of an educational institution, and sleep at last beneath the magnolias. It is a point of interest that Sherman had secured his position through the recommendation of Braxton Bragg, P. G. T. Beauregard, and E. Kirby Smith, men later to lead armies on the side opposed to Sherman.

Assisting Mr. Sherman as professor of ancient language was a young Virginian, David French Boyd. With the outbreak of the Civil War Sherman went north and Boyd, entering the Confederate army, was captured by the "Yankees" and liberated by Sherman. When the Civil War was over, the

influence of General Sherman caused David French Boyd to become president of the University.

A few years later there arrived at the University Thomas D. Boyd, brother of the president. In due course of time Thomas Boyd was graduated with a master's degree, and became an instructor at his alma mater. Mr. Wilkerson has given us a clear picture of the hard struggle and humble beginnings of Louisiana State University. In 1875 when Thomas D. Boyd became commandant of cadets, there were only four cadets to command, though such command gave the commandant title of colonel. At the present time when the University's annual budgets are counted in millions, it may be hard to realize that for several years when the late Colonel Boyd was president, it existed under a state constitution forbidding the appropriation of more than \$10,000 per year for its support. The constitutional convention of 1898 raised this allowance to \$15,000, where it remained until 1904. Present-day students of the University may not be aware that under Colonel Boyd a holiday was once given because the enrollment at the University had reached the high figure of 300.

Through all this long struggle, so intimately portrayed in Professor Wilkerson's work, one sees emerging the personal character and attainments of President Boyd. Though he served for eight years as president of the Louisiana State Normal, his interest in and loyalty to the University was for a period of approximately sixty years. When he dealt with legislators not yet fully appreciative of the worth of a university, when he strove to develop sentiment throughout the state in favor of higher education, he made every small gain hold fast, never lost patience, never took defeat as final, and never rested on the laurels of victory. One sees in Colonel Boyd through a reading of his life by Wilkerson a citizen embodying the self-restraining virtues of a noble Roman, willing always to make personal sacrifice for the accomplishment of his objectives; lovable in personality, but more admirable in character.

Mr. Wilkerson is due much credit for the minute details he has given us portraying the life of Boyd, the educator, for the scholarly way in which it is presented. The chief wish one has after reading the book is to know more of the personal or civic life of Colonel Boyd. Comparative sketches of other state universities and their leaders would be an addition to Southern literature.

PIERCE CLINE

Centenary College

Agrarianism: A Program for Farmers. By Troy J. Cauley. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. 211. \$1.50.)

The preface by which Mr. Cauley introduces his case for agrarianism frankly states a kinship in ideas to *I'll Take My Stand*, though his work deals more

directly and exclusively with agricultural economics than did the "Nashville agrarians." He also gives less attention to regionalism or sectionalism than his intellectual kinsmen. He undertakes "to work out something of a synthesis" for a restored agrarianism, assuming that agrarianism is roughly "an economic and social system under which the chief method of making a living is that of tilling the soil, with a consequent rather wide dispersion of population and a relative meagerness of commercial intercourse."

Thorstein Veblen is reflected and quoted effectively in Mr. Cauley's analysis and indictment of American industrial capitalism, with its control by a few, its physical capacity for plenty, and its business necessity for scarcity. Veblenesque also is the observation, "As a producer of goods, agriculture in this country may be accounted a success; but as a business, it is a distinct failure, and to a large extent its success in production is responsible for its failure as a business." Fifty years of agricultural history is epitomized in that statement.

One might seriously question the logical correctness of presenting Capitalism, Socialism, and Agrarianism as three categorical systems from which America must choose. It is difficult to conceive of a pure agrarianism tinged neither with capitalism nor with socialism, whether in Old Testament days or in modern times. The assumption that we may by social choice escape both socialism and capitalism seems unrealistic. The urban movement in America has been too large and too rapid, but no agrarian movement is going to destroy the American city or our urban economy. A synthesis, not of agrarianism, but of town and country, of factory and farm, is what is needed and has been needed for many years. Agrarianism may constitute the salt of civilization, but we cannot isolate salt and live on it alone.

Mr. Cauley offers pertinent suggestions for correcting the disparity of agriculture and for removing the evils of absentee ownership of farm lands. He catalogues the merits of agrarianism and the blessings of the independent farmer with prose eloquence. He has in mind the yeoman farmer, not the lord of a plantation. His book is an interesting essay rather than a comprehensive treatment. It is more important as a challenge than as a program, though it gives side lights on a program not dominated by monetary motives. It is a plea for agrarian democracy with emphasis on farming as a wholesome way of life. It is essentially contemporary in outlook but, nevertheless, in line with an important tradition.

H. C. NIXON

Tulane University

Historical News and Notices

With the present number, the *Journal of Southern History* begins the second year of its existence. No one realizes more than the Managing Editor the imperfections and shortcomings of the first volume. It has been no easy task to create an historical magazine in all of its aspects: to establish a format and style, to locate meritorious manuscripts, to find competent reviewers without too much repetition, to acquire historical news of pertinent significance, to define Southern history, and to establish confidence in the *Journal* and its objectives. In all of these concerns, the Managing Editor has had the sympathetic counsel and co-operation of a competent Board of Editors, though he himself assumes full responsibility for all defects and errors. From no source has there been any attempt to discourage the project; on the contrary, numerous expressions of kindly encouragement have been received. Especially the constructive criticism and the patient forbearance of those who have had the interest of the *Journal* at heart have been appreciated.

With a view to improvement sundry changes have been made in the first issue of the second volume. Great care has been exercised in the choice of type and in the amount of spacing; an improved grade of paper has been adopted; books have been sewed instead of side-stitched; and the cover has been simplified. It is hoped that the physical features of the present number may become more or less permanent, though additional changes will be made if any of them prove unsatisfactory. It is perhaps needless to say that the content as well as the format may be uniformly improved, and that the editorial work may become more scholarly.

PERSONAL

The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic (University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), by Dr. Angie Debo of Marshall, Oklahoma, has been awarded the Dunning prize as the most outstanding contribution in the field of American history for 1935. The award of the \$200 prize is made annually by the American Historical Association.

Professor B. I. Wiley of Hattiesburg State Teachers College will teach at Peabody during the summer session of 1936. His place at State Teachers College will be filled by Rex W. Strickland of the Demonstration High School

history department, who will be on leave during the current semester to continue work toward the doctorate at the University of Texas.

Isaiah Bowman, president of Johns Hopkins University, addressed the Maryland Historical Society, December 16, on the subject, "Where Do You Live?"

Dr. Nicholas Pendelon Mitchell is supplying at the University of Richmond for the session, 1935-1936, for Professor Ralph C. McDanel, who has leave of absence to study in the Graduate Institute of International Studies at Geneva.

Mr. Dan Lacy, instructor in history at the University of North Carolina, has accepted the active direction of the North Carolina Archives Survey under the supervision of Dr. C. C. Crittenden, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission at Raleigh.

Professor J. C. Russell of the University of North Carolina has been elected Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of London. He is co-author of *The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches Relating to England*, published by the Mediaeval Academy of America in October, 1935.

Professor Herbert Gambrell of Southern Methodist University has been appointed director of historical exhibits for the Texas Centennial Exposition at Dallas.

Mr. Robert A. Lancaster, Jr., editor of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, has been elected corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society of Boston.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Sundry papers treating phases of Southern history were read at the Chattanooga meeting of the American Historical Association, December 27-30: "Virginia's Western Lands," by Thomas P. Abernethy of the University of Virginia; "Chattanooga as an Ante-bellum Railway Center," by T. D. Clark of the University of Kentucky; "A Rural Interpretation of the Causes of the Civil War," by Avery O. Craven of the University of Chicago; "The Influence of the Medical Department upon Confederate War Operations," by Courtney R. Hall, Garden City, New York; "Lincoln and Fort Sumter," by Charles W. Ramsdell of the University of Texas; "From Tillman to Long—Some Striking Leaders of the Rural South," by Daniel M. Robison of West Tennessee Teacher's College; "The Advance of Methodism into the Lower Southwest," by Walter B. Posey of Birmingham-Southern College; and "The Tennessee Valley Authority," by David E. Lilienthal, Director and General Counsel for the TVA. At a round table on "The Southern Confederacy," presided over by Frank L. Owsley of Vanderbilt University, the discussion was led by Charles W. Ramsdell of the University of Texas, Irby Hudson of Vanderbilt University, and Major

William Robinson of the United States Army. The luncheon conference of editors of historical publications considered problems that confronted editors of publications in the South.

Officers of the East Tennessee Historical Society for 1936: president, Culver H. Smith; vice-presidents, George Fort Milton, Samuel C. Williams, and T. A. Adams; treasurer, Harvey Broome; secretary, Laura Luttrell; members of the executive committee, S. J. Folmsbee and Mary E. Baker; managing editor of the Society's *Publications*, W. Neil Franklin; members of the board of editors, Mary U. Rothrock, P. M. Hamer, St. George L. Souissat, Samuel C. Williams, Culver H. Smith, and Carl S. Driver. At a meeting of the Society on January 6, Dr. George F. Gant of the TVA presented a paper on "Confederate Trade in Tennessee."

Local historical societies whose struggles for existence are perennial may be interested to know that since 1929 the Filson Club of Louisville, Kentucky, has owned its own fireproof building, including library rooms, a museum, and an assembly hall. The Club's membership at present is 530, of whom 9 are endowment, 55 are life, and 466 are annual members. Nine meetings are held each year. The organization was incorporated in 1884 to collect, preserve, and publish historical material, especially that pertaining to Kentucky, and to provide the means of historical inquiry. Since its founding thirty-five publications—books on Kentucky history—have been issued, and since 1926 it has published the *Filson Club History Quarterly*.

At the annual meeting of the Virginia Historical Society, December 12, the following officers were elected: president, John Stewart Bryan; first vice-president, Judge Daniel Grinnan; other vice-presidents, Fairfax Harrison of Washington, J. D. Eggleston of Hampden-Sidney, John Peyton McGuire of Richmond, T. Catesby Jones of New York City, and James E. Heath of Norfolk. At a subsequent meeting, Morgan P. Robinson was elected recording secretary, and Robert A. Lancaster, Jr., corresponding secretary, treasurer, librarian, and editor of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*.

The projected Southern Methodist University Library, made possible by the gift of Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Fondren of Houston, will house both the collection of the Dallas Historical Society and the McCord Dramatic Museum. The latter, largely collected by David Russell, consists of old playbills, autographed photographs of famous actors and actresses, plans of historic playhouses, and costumes worn by well-known theater people of the past.

Dr. P. M. Hamer of The National Archives has been appointed National Director of a survey of archives of the Federal government outside of the District of Columbia. "The purpose of the survey," according to the Director,

"is to ascertain the exact location, the volume, and the conditions of storage of such archives, to identify them as regards their contents, and to furnish other information which may be of assistance in the formulation of recommendations designed to insure their safe preservation and to facilitate their use by officials and students." The survey will be completed by June 30, 1936.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS

The Texas Centennial Exposition will open in Dallas on June 6 and will run through November 29. As a commemoration of the founding of the Texas Republic a century ago, it will constitute "the first world's fair to be held in the Southwest." The exposition, which is estimated to cost some fifteen million dollars, will depict the state's natural resources and also "the cultural, social, and economic evolution of the region during the century." More than fifty buildings will house the exposition. The architectural design will express "the merge of the primitive Southwestern influences with the more classical schools introduced by colonists of European origin. . . . The landscaping will blend with the pattern set by the architecture." The State of Texas Building will house the Republic's records and will include a Hall of Heroes commemorating the contributions of pioneers at Goliad, The Alamo, and San Jacinto. Although the Exposition proper will be assembled at Dallas, other centers of the state will participate in the centennial. "San Antonio will emphasize the Mission Alamo, while Houston will concentrate on the Battle of San Jacinto. . . . Gonzales, where the first shot of the revolution was fired in October, 1835, has already staged a week-long celebration, including a pageant re-enacting the battle which has become known as the 'Lexington of Texas'."

The Louisiana Historical Society commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of its founding January 8-16. With the exception of a luncheon address at Louisiana State University, January 9, by Pierce Butler, Dean of Newcomb College, all other functions were held in New Orleans. These included a reception and tea in the Sala Capitular, Cabildo, commemorating the battle of New Orleans, a Louisiana historic costume ball at the Patio Royal, a parade at Jackson Square, and a centenary banquet at Antoine's. The January issue of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* is a pre-centennial number, and the April issue will include several articles depicting the Louisiana of the 1830's.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

Slavery in Connecticut, 31 pp. (published for the Tercentenary Commission of the State of Connecticut by the Yale University Press, 1935, price 25 cents), by Ralph Foster Weld, treats both Indian and Negro slavery but emphasizes the latter. The number of Africans in the colony remained negligible through the seventeenth century, increased gradually 1700-1750, and more rapidly in

the third quarter of the eighteenth century. By the outbreak of the Revolution, Connecticut had 5085 Negroes as against nearly 200,000 whites. The author considers the meager activities of Connecticut shipmasters in the slave trade, the relationship of master and slave, the status of the institution, the colony's black code (begun in 1690), manumission (acts of 1784, 1797, and 1848), evolution of antislavery sentiment, opposition to Negro educational institutions, and political antislaveryism of the 1850's.

In December, 1935, D. Appleton-Century Company published for the American Historical Association *The Estates General of 1789: The Problems of Composition and Organization*, by Mitchell B. Garrett of the University of North Carolina.

Typographic Antiques, 16 pp. (printed by the *Democrat*, St. Francisville, Louisiana), by Elrie Robinson, is a clever presentation of historic type faces, printers' ornaments, logotypes, and advertising illustrations comparable to present-day symbolic cuts. Among the last are illustrations representing transportation, trades and professions, political and patriotic meetings, etc. The pamphlet is attractively bound in wall paper. "Johann Gutenberg, Benjamin Franklin and Elrie Robinson," says the compiler with an ear for appropriate contemporary phraseology in which to present a type face, are "Three Good Printers. R. T. Porte and Douglas McMurtrie Are Also Pretty Fair."

The Old South, by R. S. Cotterill of Florida State College for Women, has been issued by the Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California. The work has been designed as a textbook for college courses in Southern history.

A volume entitled "Naturalists of the Frontier" is soon to appear from the pen of Samuel W. Geiser of Southern Methodist University. It treats outstanding scientists who came to the trans-Mississippi country, and especially to the Southwest, in pioneer days.

Texas: Nationalist or Internationalist, 56 pp. (*Arnold Foundation Studies in Public Affairs*, Vol. IV, no. 1, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, 1935), by S. D. Myres, Jr., considers three approaches to the economic problem that confronts the Lone Star state: the internationalist, the nationalist, and the eclectic. According to Professor Myres, "the most pronounced group of internationalists are the cotton exporters," who look upon the tariff as the great barrier in improving the foreign market, and who along with other internationalists, insist upon revision of monetary policy, especially the settlement of war debts and stabilization of American currency. Among the nationalists, a less articulate group more or less satisfied with the status quo, are numbered wool and mohair producers, lumbermen, cattle raisers, truck farmers, producers of oils and fats, whether animal, vegetable, or marine, and a growing number

of industrialists. Their views are also supported by bankers, college professors, and lawyers. *In re* the present cotton crisis, some of them favor governmental control, others advocate a *laissez-faire* policy, and still others would follow the middle course represented by the "domestic allotment" plan. Professor Myres summarizes the eclectic argument: "the revaluation of currencies and the stabilization of foreign exchange"; the elimination of "such obstacles to foreign trade as quotas and bargaining agreements"; gradual reduction of import duties; re-examination of "our relationship to such institutions as the League of Nations and the World Court, co-operating with them to the extent that the welfare of the American people viewed both domestically and internationally, requires."

Highway Administration in the South, 21 pp. (*Arnold Foundation Studies in Public Affairs*, Vol. III, no. 4, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, 1935), by James E. Pate, considers units of administration, highway organization, the construction process, highway finance, and Federal-state co-operation. The writer presents brief historical backgrounds, but his study treats mainly the present-day setup.

The Founding of Rollins College, 69 pp. (*Rollins College Bulletin*, XXI, no. 2 [December, 1935], Winter Park, Florida), by A. J. Hanna, is "A record of the conception, formation and establishment of Florida's oldest institution of higher education, presented as a report of the observance of the Semi-centennial Anniversary, 1885-1935." The booklet emphasizes Florida as an educational frontier in the eighties, the problem of locating the college, its incorporation and opening, and the founder, Alonzo W. Rollins.

Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society, Vol. III, no. 1, embraces *The First American Play*, by Carlos E. Castaneda, historiographer of the Mission Era in Texas. The *Studies* are distributed under the auspices of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission, headquarters at St. Edward's University, Austin. The present study is reprinted from the *Catholic World*, January, 1932. It consists of an historical introduction and the text of the play in both the original Spanish and in translation (The Conversion and Baptism of the Last Four Kings of Tlaxcala in New Spain). "Thus almost two hundred years before the first play was given in Williamsburg, Virginia [1718]," the writer points out, "dramatic representations were common in Mexico City."

Among recent acquisitions of the Louisiana State University Library are the papers of Thomas Affleck, scientific planter and horticulturist who, following his migration from Scotland in 1832, lived successively in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Mississippi (1842-1857), and Texas (1857-1868). The collection, acquired from his grandson, Mr. T. D. Affleck of Galveston,

includes sundry diaries, letter books, correspondence, business papers, published works, etc. There are letters from such prominent editors and agriculturists as A. B. Allen, N. B. Cloud, Edmund Ruffin, J. D. B. De Bow, M. W. Philips, and Eli J. Capell. The papers cover the period from 1831 to 1868.

The Library has also acquired during the past year the plantation diary (1841-1858) of Dr. H. W. Jenkins, Natchez; the financial and plantation diary (1848-1873) of Dr. William Mercer, Natchez and New Orleans; the Civil War diaries of Captain D. M. Parsons, Plattsburgh, New York, and of Captain George Tichnor, New Orleans; the Civil War reminiscences of Emily Caroline Douglas, Natchez; the general merchandise records (1865-1890) of the R. H. Stewart Company, Natchez; and the Stubbs Papers, a collection of some 250 Civil War letters and civil papers (Virginia).

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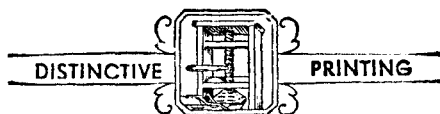
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Recent Fiction, by R. P. Blackmur
Poetry of the Quarter, by Donald Davidson
T. E. Lawrence, by Liddell Hart

FICTION

The Ginsing Gatherers, by Howell Vines
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